177 when, also after 1870, Yokuts performers came to Mono villages to present the aberrant spectacles for entertainment. Before 1870, but probably not before 1850, a diffusion of some aspects of the above-mentioned Yokuts ceremonies may have been started by Western Mono individuals, shamans particularly, who, only as individuals, acquired for their own repertoires certain functions such as the handling of rattlesnakes, the taking or administering of jimsonweed, or the exhibition of power by making and propelling airshot.

171 613 619 621 177 More fundamental and undoubtedly predating the Yokuts-Mono junction unwittingly effected by the whites, is the social organization common to both cultures. This includes (1) the basic patrilineal lineages (with their totemic animal symbols) which lived either in tiny hamlets or larger villages depending on locale, under a chief and his henchman whose offices were determined primarily by inheritance, secondarily by popular choice; and (2) the further grouping of these communities into a self-conscious "tribe" having a name (Wobonuch, Waksachi, etc.) and dialectic distinctions.[2] With these named, dialectically distinct social groups or tribes is linked the concept of a "home spot" which is a Miwok feature also, as is the moiety concept shared by some but not all Yokuts and Western Mono. In other words, the historical relation of Yokuts and Western Mono social characteristics is embedded in the larger history of social organization in the entire southern half of California.[3]

171 613 177 Stemming from the totemic lineage is the practice of redeeming the totem animal by purchase and the totem-function bond--Eagle or Cougar as chief, Dove or Roadrunner as messenger, Bear dancing and Coyote clowning, features shared by Western Mono and Yokuts.

171 778 177 Another basic similarity between the upland Monachi culture and that of their valley neighbors lies in the realm of supernatural beliefs and powers. The attitudes toward supernatural power, the method of obtaining it, and the uses to which it was put are identical. However, the Western Mono shamans did not go in for specialization as did the Yokuts, with their individual powers for controlling weather, rattlesnakes, and water creatures.

177 439 On the side of material culture a more even exchange has taken place since trade relations have always, apparently, been maintained for mutual benefit, with Western Mono serving as middlemen when the Eastern Mono (Owens Valley Paiute) did not want to risk entry into Yokuts territory. However, a few items are

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[2] Now summarized in Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Social Organization.

[3] See Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, 114-122; cf. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, 50-57, and fig. 7 showing Owens Valley Paiute (Eastern Mono) band areas.

616 distantly related called each other yoko´čn·m (person my, or "my people"); other co-moiety members they merely called noči´n·m (friend my). Members of the same lineage referred to themselves collectively as ta'a´tin·m (relatives, or "my own folks"). It was permissible for co-parents-in-law (ma´kši) to marry, but this rarely happened. No cousin marriage, either cross or parallel, up to and usually including thirdcousinship, was permitted.

The ceremonial functions of the moieties are mentioned elsewhere. In brief, reciprocal opposition prevailed at first-fruit rites, at ceremonial washings, possibly at one purely social dance, during games played at mourning ceremonies, and during the hand game. It did not affect the Shamans' Contest, the Rattlesnake Ritual, nor did it in any way appear in the more personal aspects of shamans' activities such as curing or persecuting their fellow men.

616 796 Redemption of totem animal.-- The rite of making a payment for a totemic animal was called siwa´lun·ts, and was confined to Eagle and Coyote by the Chunut, according to J.A. Sometimes a man from the foothills would come to a plains chief with an eagle, which might be a live bird or dead. In either case the bird was put down on a mat with its wings outspread and, under supervision of the Tokelyuwich chiefs, persons of that moiety cast bead money over it. All the spectators, regardless of moiety, wept. The money (all or part?) was given to the visiting man by the Tokelyuwich chief, who kept the eagle. But members of the Nutuwich moiety were responsible for its final disposition. If the bird was dead, they took [231 184] it back to the foothills for burial; if alive, it was they who freed it. Eaglets were never kept and reared as in the foothills.

A dead coyote was "redeemed" in the same way by people of the Nutuwich moiety, but this was not, apparently, a public affair. Any Nutuwich person who wished to would pay for the ● [778] coyote, whose carcass would then be buried, its hide being kept as a talisman.

Bears were not redeemed.

[231] Occasionally people kept pets; a Tokelyuwich chief might keep a pair of crows. J.A.'s mother once had two baby skunks, which she kept and fed on a tray.

For the Tachi Gifford gives the following, which agrees well with the Chunut information save on the matter of coyote redemption.

> The people of one moiety might kill the "pets" [totemic animals] of the other moiety, but not of their own. This prohibition applied not only to a man's own pet, but to all of the totems of his moiety. Nor might a man have a person of the opposite moiety kill one of his moiety's pets. In fact when one was killed, it was the duty of the people of the moiety with which it was connected to redeem it and bury it properly.

756 787 [548] Nevertheless, this was said in a prayerful manner, as if to convince herself and any unknown power behind the dream, that all was well. [A neighbor of J.A.'s was said to be a prostitute. J.A. has tried to keep Belle out of difficulties with men lest she "lose her grub from the government."]

[555] In connection with dreams J.A. stated that a plain person (of no family prestige) "could dream and get to be something." A man could dream of Eagle, which would help him acquire wealth, and he would then be a chief (tiya).[82]

Dreams were regarded as actualities. If one dreamed that someone was gossiping about him, he would chide the person about his behavior at the first opportunity.[83]

756 787 778 The man who accepted dream help and wished to become a professional shaman continued his fasting, dreaming, and praying over a long period of time. He secured walaṭ, the talismans of his dream helper: these might be parts of animals or birds who were assisting him, or objects which they directed him to obtain. They might be a necklace of beads, or any object designated in a dream, such as a weasel skin, bird or animal heads, or a portion of the dream helper, its wing or tail feathers. The walaṭ always referred to the dream helper and was indicated by it. An exception to this is the eagle-down strings, which always were imbued with ṭ:pni and were the common "tool" for magic. J.A. said a raven's head was a "good" walaṭ, she had seen one which its owner kept wrapped in eagle down. Weasel skins were used in extracting "airshot."

A walaṭ, once used, lost its usefulness. The owner took it out and hid it in some secluded spot, and if he wanted to live long, he would never take it out again. Owners of walaṭ kept them carefully in some private place as they were dangerous, "they got mean if they were lost or carelessly handled; they talked about you."

The walaṭ of the Chunut is identical with the ai´n:tc of the Wukchumni. Both people used the word ana´twal to indicate the dream itself, or verbally for the process of dreaming. It appears that the foothill people use the first part of the word to indicate the dream talisman (ain:tc), the lake people the second part (walaṭ).

Sickness and Curing

755 In curing a patient a doctor took with him a flint knife for cutting, a bunch of hand

[82] This seems somewhat contrary to the inheritable nature of the office but agrees with her statements concerning Chunut chieftaincy made at another time.

[83] J.A. complained that some neighboring Indians were "talking about" her while I was there, and I could never discover whether this was real or dreamed.

754 In such cases of deliberate harm, if a
756 person sent for a doctor other than the one who had sent the sickness, the doctor who attempted the cure would be sickened by the evil shaman. Only a very "big" doctor could bring about a cure under such circumstances, and at great risk to himself: it was one man's power against another's.

754 Coyotes were thought to be "servants" of
825 evil shamans and ṭ:pni people. If a doctor were going to injure a family or make a visit with harmful intentions, he would send a coyote ahead of him the preceding night. The coyote would go through the village barking and thrust his head in the door of the doomed house. When people heard a coyote doing this they would get up with their bows and arrows and try to shoot it. But they never succeeded, as such an animal was supernatural. When the coyote returned to his master, the shaman would dance and sing his songs. The next day the doctor would appear at the house The use of a coyote by a man who used his supernatural power to persecute others was related amongst other anecdotes of evil shamans by J.A.[85]

Shaman's Cache

756 As in the foothills, doctors were believed
556 to have private caches where the wealth they ac-
778 cumulated was hidden: such a cache is called tai´wan (a big burden or storage basket). One of these is located in a little ridge about eight hundred yards north of the Lemoore Rancheria. As usual, a fabulous account was given by J.A of the beads, baskets, feathers, skins, etc., stored there. In this region these things had to be buried as nature did not offer the convenient rock shelters of the foothills. Should anyone start to dig in this hill, swarms of gnats, flies, and fleas would attack the intruder and kill him. Or if he succeeded in reaching and touching the objects, he would suffer terrific pains and sickness.

A taiwan is always guarded by some sort of creature. This one is inhabited by a personified fire: a bright light emanates from the ridge at times. It glides about and frightens people when they walk to town at night; it follows them. It is a kind of person without legs who just floats along; it is called hɛ'u´te'ːts ka´lːl (walks light [or lightning]). This lightning sings:

hia´m (i) na tipi´newe oiyo´lomo·
now I ṭːpni move

When the ground is plowed (by the white proprietor), the glowing light extends for about a quarter of a mile in all directions.

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[85] Ibid., 404.

756 This taiwan is an old one; nobody knows
556 what doctor owned it. Poso'o told J.A. about
it and warned her to keep away from it. He
●778 said a big sickness (tau'mui) like consumption
or pneumonia would "come out" if any one at-
tempted to disturb the place.

756 A doctor who has not practised long, yet
556 shows inordinate signs of wealth, is suspected
of being a grave-robber. Some doctors were not
266 afraid of graves or of dead people. When they
opened a grave they ate all the flesh of the
corpse and left the bones scattered about.[86]

Once J.A., her daughter Belle, M.P. and her daughter Leah were out gathering wild onions on the Pohot ranch. They found a baby's skeleton: first they found a shoulder and a little hand, then a leg, and then a foot farther over toward the northwest. They were terrified and ran away at once. About a week later they heard that Halopča and his father, Etak, had dug up a little girl's grave; she was of a wealthy family and had lots of money buried with her. As these men lived up at Dunlap it was thought that they had come down via Eshom Valley to Lime Kiln Creek and thrown the remains on the Pohot's property to obviate suspicion.

683 Doctors who were believed to cause deaths
754 were usually killed when someone had courage to
do it. J.A. did not formulate the procedure,
merely said that this was so, and that her own
grandfather was killed by some Tachi because it
was thought he "sent sickness."

Illnesses and Treatments:
The following were specified by J.A.

752

757 Headache: de'ltal. This was cured by
sucking blood (pai'yam:t) from the forehead
just between the eyes.

[753] Nose bleed: ṭomo'luna. This was due to a
long hair of a dead person which a ghost in-
serted in one's forehead. The hair lay, intern-
ally, down the length of the nose. A doctor
cut and sucked the extreme tip of the nose, and
exhibited the intrusive hair.

Pain: woto'kwi. Any pain was called by
this term and an attempt would be made to cure
it by cutting and sucking.

757 Cold: ho'sowona. This was usually not
treated unless very severe. The roots of a
hard-wood shrub (atsai'y:n ho'pal) were boiled
and drunk for chills. To prevent cold in the
chest a red clay was smeared liberally over the
chest. For a bad cough, horehound was boiled
and the liquid drunk. A cold which became
[754] incurable (pneumonia or consumption) would be
attributed to a malevolent shaman, and then a
shaman would be called to attempt a cure by his
methods.

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[86] Burials were shallow and not impervious to animals. However, the belief that doctors ate the flesh of dead people is mentioned from other tribes.

622 administrative abilities, but added that, if he proved unable, another person would be chosen to function in his place. Therefore the rule of inheritance, as given above, was not rigidly followed: a brother or son might be ignored if thought unsuitable, or he could himself decline the office if he wished. A brother, son, or grandchild might be selected, but a cousin was an unusual choice.

Although the wives, sisters, and daughters of a chief were also termed tiya, they did not function save in the role of hostesses on ceremonial occasions. A great burden of housewifely management fell upon them as they had to be prepared at any moment to serve food to a visitor, and at ceremonial functions large [595] quantities of food were needed. A chief usually had two wives at once; other men were usually monogamous, at least in residence.

778 The eagle was invariably the totemic or 825 lineage symbol of the chief and his descendants in the male line in Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod 622 society. The falcon (lɨ́mɨk), "wolf" (iwéyɨt, the mountain coyote), and cougar (wehɨ́šɨt) are mentioned as associated or secondary totems though they are not, in the Central Foothills, the major totems for any chiefly lineage. How these function as secondary totems is not clear, and one gets the impression that it is merely a carry-over from mythology wherein these, too, are "important persons" though Eagle was the chief.

622 There were no insignia of office for a chief or his relatives.

There were two or three chiefs to every tribe, though the number naturally varied with the size of the tribe. For local matters pertaining to their own villages, such as family quarrels, the time to move camp for seed-gathering, or the building of a new sweat house, a chief could make his own decisions. Anyone who wished might go directly to the chief for [624 advice, instructions, or aid, but most commonly 202] the chief's messenger (winatum) served as a go-between. "The tiya usually sent his winatum to give people messages (for instance, to stop a quarrel), or people sent word to the tiya the same way" (S.G.).

For a matter which involved intervillage activity within a tribe, all the chiefs had to be in agreement. The usual need for this came at the time of the Annual Mourning Ceremony, which was a tribal affair.

If one chief made a suggestion, as for a mourning ceremony, the other chiefs had to agree before he could go ahead with his plans. He would tell his winatums to get the other chiefs. In the meantime he could go out to the community fire and start talking to the people who were gradually assembling. Everyone in camp who wanted to came at such a time regardless of age or sex. [A young menstruant would not go, but an older menstruating woman would go and stay in the background.] As the

624 According to J.P. "the tuye'i came under the tia'a." There were four or five of these in a tribe. The position was inherited, usually going to a son but sometimes to a brother. J.P. served as a tuye'i at a recent mourning ceremony; his part was to share in the expenses and assist in general plans and their projection. The recent ceremonies are not occasions for money-lending.

The Yaudanchi Tm.W. said the tuye'i helped the tia'a at a duniša (ceremony). "If the tia'a had no money these boys had to put up the rest." However, Tm.W. indicated three classes of these subchiefs or financial assistants, thus: "If the tia'a put in $5.00, the tuye'i put in $3.00. Behind the tuye'i was the pokn‹nwad, he put up $2.00. The nututa was behind the pokn‹nwad, and he'd put up whatever he had, $1.00 maybe."[229]

[202] Messenger.---The position of messenger (winatum) was inherited in the male line but the title, like the chief's, and some of the duties applied to the messenger's wife, sisters, sons, and daughters. Not all the siblings in a genealogical stratum served in the office, only those who wished to do so. Probably if the family were small, say with but one or two offspring, pressure would be exerted to see that they followed their father's profession. A modern instance of this is J.P.'s family of several children among whom two have been designated to serve as "winatums" at ceremonial functions, aberrant as they are. In this instance a maternal "inheritance" is being followed, as it is M.P. who is of a winatum's lineage.

Her father and her maternal grandfather were both winatums. And her maternal uncle, following his father, was also a winatum. This, incidentally, is an instance of a marriage between persons of comparable lineages, i.e., her father, a winatum, with the daughter of another winatum. All had Dove as their lineage or totemic symbol.

● [778 825 304] The dove, in Central Foothills, invariably is the totemic creature of the winatum, just as Roadrunner is the symbol among the Lake and Northern Foothill groups. M.P. has a tattooed mark on her wrist which she said was "dove's feet" (fig. 9, d).

The term messenger is a misnomer for this officer, for his duties included directing ceremonial activities, even when supervised by a general "dance manager" (see below), seeing that visitors were supplied with shelter, wood, and water, dividing foodstuffs, quieting quarrels, and collecting payments. His wife, sisters, or daughters, served as stewardesses at ceremonies, assisting in the preparing and serving of food. Furthermore, shamans had their own winatums whose duties consisted of

[229] My notebook adds: "Informant can't be definite; have impression that this was an inherited and specific position; were required to put up money if called upon."

561 hiam pahata muk:s: growing girl, 8 to 10 years
hiam pahata wu'h'not: now big male, i.e., youth 10 to 20 years
goi'yuma: young girl or young matron (marriage not a factor), 10 to 20 years
wit:p mi'tač gutum: "young man," literally, little real male, 20 to 40 years
hiam pahata mitač muk:s: young mature woman, 30 to 40 years
pahata gu'tum: full-grown male (referred specifically to Henry Lawrence, 40 to 50 years)
moho'do gu'tum: old man, 50 or over
modo''o mu'k:s: old woman, past childbearing

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

756 The informants S.G., J.P., M.P., M.L., and
787 Tm.W. contributed to the general account in this section. The following introductory statement is from S.G.

A doctor begins to practise a dream like a man would study a book. If he dreams, he goes out into the night and prays to his dream to help him. A man cannot be a doctor unless something tells him to be one. A man who dreams of curing somebody could be a doctor if he liked but he didn't have to do it. If a man wanted to stay ordinary he let his dreams pass, either because he didn't know how to ask their help or he didn't want to bother. Because if you start to get help you have to keep it up or you'll die. Haičača died because he made a mistake in practising.[248] If a man took his dream, he would fast all day and pray at night to his helper. In one or two years he might get enough power to cure. All that time he told nobody what he was trying to do.[249] He just kept dreaming and learning from his dream [helper], and only ate a little bit of food all the time.

Acquisition of Power

787 When a boy was about the age of ten or a
776 little older, his dreams became significant as
● 778 a source of power. A lad might decide beforehand what sort of helper he wanted, Rattlesnake, Bear, Coyote, Owl, etc., and he would be instructed to keep his mind upon this until he achieved it. All young people were encouraged to secure some supernatural help to aid them throughout life. The rigorous bathing and abstemiousness imposed upon adolescents was an aid to this end. The cleansing of one's stomach with the tobacco emetic, a method used by adults, and constant praying were thought to induce regular dreaming. When the sought-for

[248] J.P. also referred to this but I could get no account of his death.

[249] Did not tell publicly; he might confide in his parents or a helpful uncle or grandparent.

[P. 109 a] Wukchumni

787 776 778 [237] dream occurred, the dreamer rose and went away from surrounding dwellings to talk to his dream helper, which was usually an animal or bird. He took eagle down with him and sprinkled it over little oak trees. Nothing was seen [no "vision"] during this interlude; it was merely a prayerful acknowledgment of the previous dream appearance of the helper, with a request for continued assistance. S.G. said that the dreamer should repeat this exit from the house about every half-hour after waking from the dream; other informants said that once was sufficient. The real point was that the dreamer should not fall asleep again: probably some found it necessary to remain active lest sleep overcome them. If one fell asleep and the dream were forgotten, it would not only be "lost," but the helper would be so deeply offended it would never come again, or might even cause sickness. The day following the dream the dreamer fasted entirely and went off to some secluded spot to continue his prayerful contacts with his tutelary. A few puffs of smoke might be taken at that time.

[788] All persons with supernatural power, and those respectful to this cosmic force, tapni, spoke prayerfully to the sun, moon, and morning star when they first saw them each day.

J.P. and M.P. described the procedure of seeking and dealing with supernatural power.

[237 432] If a man wanted to live long or wished for other benefits, he would go to a chief and buy some eagle down (čayi). (He could resell all or any part of this if he wished.) Some winter night, no matter how cold, he would go off to a distant hilltop. He wore no clothes and went about midnight. Before starting he chewed a little tobacco and then spat it out. At the hilltop he would scatter eagle down and in a standing posture "talk to those two tia'as" (Eagle and Wolf [aic; Mountain Coyote]). He would enumerate all those things which he did not want to happen to him and all those which he did want. He stayed and talked this way for about thirty minutes; Eagle or Wolf would reply.

[423] No fasting preceded such an expedition and there was no particular name for the spot where the prayers were made. A chief usually went repeatedly to the same place, which by general consent was known to be his and avoided. Women occasionally sought help in this manner but would not go so far from their home as men. The preferred time for seeking supernatural aid was in midwinter "about Christmas time during the bad month" and it was only done once a year.[250] (It was at this time that youths were forced to rise and bathe in icy water at night.) If the seeker passed a stream of water on the way

[250] Reminiscent of the midwinter spiritual period of certain northwestern tribes (cf. Spier, Klamath Ethnography, 260, 266; Ray, Cultural Relations, 102 ff.).

) [Discussing the puberty and initiation ceremony.—Analyst]

[P. 109 b] Wukchumni

787 776 778 to his sanctuary, he would swim in it either going or returning. If the stream were small or merely a spring the supplicant would sprinkle some water on himself.

When he returned home he immediately went to bed. If a dream helper came to him in ensuing sleep and it was the one which was wanted, it was cherished thereafter, and he prayed specifically to this helper when in sickness or in trouble. He might, if he felt inclined, go out again occasionally and pray during the night but "he needn't go so far this time." One of the chief benefits derived from having [754] supernatural power was the assurance of long life for, if the person were in danger of being "shot" by a malicious shaman, his soul or life substance "would not be there (where his body was) but away off on that hill where he had gone to talk."

787 778 "What a man dreamed he kept right on him": he kept a tangible talisman symbolic of the supernatural helper. A curing doctor might have many helpers, all the birds for example, and he could call on one or more or all of these to aid him when he was curing a patient. He had a talisman for each one.

[828] A dream in the daytime was useless; nor was one on a full stomach of any significance (S.G.).

756 778 787 Although theoretically any one might seek power by this means, and the dream was its only source, there was a tendency for shamanism to "run in families" just as there was for other occupations, such as hunting, and for the same reason: the children were better instructed by their already successful parents. So my informants argued, and the assumption is reasonable. There was no inheritance of power, or of a shaman's position or function.

Any person, man or woman, could seek dream help and use it to help himself or his family. Women, however, never became professional. "There were none up Wukchumni way, there was just one down south" [that S.G. had heard of, probably the oft-mentioned Poi'an].

[776] The dream helper was called ai'nič (from ana'ñatswad, to dream), as opposed to poša, the lineage animal symbol acquired by kinship; the same name was given the talisman representing it.

787 778 Supernatural power (tapni) bestowed by the dream helper imbued a talisman symbolic of the helper which every tutelary's protégé possessed. A person might have several talismans representing various helpers. But once a talisman had been used to accomplish some act of curing, it was necessary to have another dream of the helper it symbolized to revitalize it, so to say. The word for any talisman was wai'ač, a word which also meant "necklace" (a string of beads or anything hanging from the neck; a talisman was sometimes worn that way). The word ainič was more commonly used for a talisman when it referred to the helper whose power

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 110 9] Wukchumni.

787
778 was infusing it: the word wai'ač referred to the talisman merely as a material object. Although the material which constituted the talisman -- feathers, claws, or whatever -- might be bought, talismans themselves were never sold, once they became talismans. An
754 owner of one would fear its discovery by a
778 malicious shaman (they could be "heard" by powerful people and taken). Thus an ordinary person with private power, or a young shaman, might be forced to give up his talisman through fear of being sickened, should a shaman demand the object. A talisman so acquired could be used by its new possessor (see Anecdote 10, below).

787 Sometimes supernatural help came unsought
778 in the following ways. Although J.P.'s ex-
756 amples are of Deer helpers, he said "any animal might act like that." Thus, if a man were chasing a deer and the animal became exhausted, it might turn back and offer the hunter supernatural help to become a doctor. The man was under no compulsion to accept. Another way this might happen was for Deer to offer power to an abnormally successful hunter who had been killing many of these animals, until "they got tired of it." Then the head Deer (mɛts hoi) who lived in the deer cave[251] would go to the man in a dream and offer to make him a doctor, promising him great success and an assurance of wealth if he would cease hunting. The man might decline to become a shaman "but he would tell Deer that he would only kill one deer at a time after that and only when he needed it."

Dream Helpers

787 The special gifts bestowed by animals as
776 dream helpers are formulated in the following
825 comments by informants. These powers are those randomly acquired by dreaming, not through a lineage association.

Eagle.--Dreaming of Eagle only made people rich.[252] In no other way did Eagle help with dreams (S.G.). One did not ask him for general help in acquiring supernatural power, which might be expected from his chiefly position in the realm of birds and animals.

Falcon.--A person who had Falcon to help him could make a crowd quiet, just like a hawk makes chickens quiet. But Falcon was also dangerous as a helper: he sometimes made people wild, they would break out of any jail they were put in (S.G.).

Cougar.--A person who dreamed of Cougar, or especially of struggling with one, would get so much strength that he would not dare to hit anybody [lest he kill him]. Cougar would do one thing or the other: he made a man either

[251] See section on hunting and treatment of deer; also Wobonuch account, Pt. II.

[252] That is, it could not make one a chief.

[P. 110 b] Wukchumni.

787 776 825 a good hunter or a bad man. A man who wanted to show he had power through Cougar would wear the claws tied on his arms with cougar sinew (S.G.).

Antelope.--"The little yellow deer (ija hajɨt) was a shaman. His body was just like a net: bullets went right through it. He helped a man to be a doctor, but one who went by this deer did not live long because there were too many rules for a person to follow" (S.G.).[353]

Deer.--If a man were chasing a deer and the animal got tired, it might come back to the hunter and tell him it would make him a powerful doctor (J.P.).

Owl.--The horned owl (hutu´du) was the dream helper of the huhuna dancer. "He could see anything" (M.L.).

Miscellaneous.--Cougar, Wildcat, and Buffalo [sic] (Elk) are three helpers for good hunters (S.G.).

Coyote, Weasel, and Skunk are doctors' helpers (J.B.).

Curing

756 778 All shamans had a collection of talismans, which were usually kept in a sack of skin such as a weasel, otter, skunk, or small wildcat skin. The shouldered basket (osa) was so used sometimes. This collection was not kept around the house but was hidden outdoors in some rocky crevice. Anyone who touched it would get sore fingers or sore eyes. Because of their power these outfits were burned or buried at the owner's death. Only a relative who had at least as much power as the deceased shaman would dare to keep and use the talismans; if he [764] tried to and were insufficiently powerful, he would die. However, shamans were buried like [237] plain people; there was no special disposal. An essential to all curing equipment was eagle down, both loose and rolled into cord; all persons with ṭɨpni power, whether professional or not, wanted and used this material.

757 Shamans seem to have been called to cure headache, chest pains, chest congestion, heart [753] trouble (vertigo), rheumatism, and chills and fever. Nausea was said to be uncommon, and persons suffering from this usually cured themselves by drinking herbal infusions. These ailments (save nausea) were all thought to be caused by the intrusions of some malignant object which might have been sent by a malicious shaman, by a ghost, or by an offended supernatural animal or bird. The first cause was regarded as the most probable, the last was least likely.

Chills and fever were usually accompanied by headache. To cure this a doctor put water on top of the patient's head and sucked without

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[353] That is, the person made a mistake and offended his helper who caused his death. This is a strange word for antelope, but what other can be meant?

[EP 112a] Wukchumni

754 poison is real or imaginary I could not dis-
789 cover.[255]

Airshot.--Shamans of any standing were believed capable of sending intrusive objects into other persons. Such objects were called by the word for arrowhead, tu´yoš, in English, "airshot." Properly speaking, airshot is the invisible shot which shamans used in the Shamans' Contest, but the English and native words are used loosely for all intrusive objects. These objects might be grains of sand, a beetle, a cougar's whisker, or a shaman's own beard hair, fingernails or seeds. "Some kinds of shot knocked you down while others hardly hurt at all. The same doctor could make [i.e., propel] different kinds" (S.G.).

All shamans used a basketry tray (tai´iwan,
[056 Wukchumni, bo´gtu, Patwisha), similar to the
285] woman's gambling tray but larger and handsomer, as the basis or foundation from which the shot was propelled. The shot was set off either by blowing across the tray or slapping it face downward on the ground.

[821] The invisible airshot was derived from the sun. It was made from nothing (i´a´mči, lit., nothing). The shamans prayed to the sun,
756 grabbed toward it with the hands, and then
754 rubbed them on the tray where the shot appeared
789 looking like buckshot, fish eggs, seeds, pebbles.[256] This all disappeared when the shamans again rubbed their hands over the tray.

According to J.P., this same airshot could
825 be transformed into living creatures. Thus a
756 shaman would "blow airshot off his tray and it
789 would change into an owl that went and talked
754 to the doctor's victim. Sometimes it would be a coyote -- they are mean just like owl." While owls and coyotes are the customary servants of shamans, other informants indicated that these were living animals, not magically created ones, which were under shamans' commands.

Transformation.--The Wukchumni believed
756 that persons with supernatural power, not
789 necessarily shamans, could transform themselves
● 778 under conditions of great stress into the form of their animal dream helper. (See Holoanši's experience, above, and Anecdote 4, below.)

Bear transformation was believed possible
[613] for persons of the Bear lineage, provided they had dreamed of Bear and had sufficient ṭ:pni to accomplish it. Men did this, never women. It was not a common practice and I could secure no stories or anecdotes concerning it, and at least one informant denied it in toto.

Flying power.--The power of flying through
789 space, while mentioned, was only incidental.
756 Thus in an escape, for example, the distressed person suddenly found himself a safe distance away from his threatened danger. The power

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[255]Vide J.P.'s experiences, Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 403.

[256]Whatever similes informants used in attempting to describe airshot, the common element was a granular aspect.

683 ened all the Indians. This was because Kipat had so much ṭ:ṗni."

The Shaman's Cache

756 778 It was believed that most shamans had private caches (pa´čki) where they kept not only their sacred outfits of talismans, but their wealth, and even the stuffed skins of dead women adorned with beads and other valuable ornaments. The cache would be in a cliff or rock pile; cracks indicated the door, which [531] opened at the owner's command. The rocks were usually painted; in fact, any rock with pictographs was thought to be a cache. A rock pile in Drum Valley was shown me as a shaman's cache; there was another at Hoganu.[258]

756 778 823 [531] Both S.G. and M.P. described a big cache near Gutsnumi which they said was in a big hill known as Bell Bluff, called Čoiš:šiu (lit., dog place). This was on Kaweah River directly opposite the old village site, now known as Terminus Beach, and was marked with pictographs. (These I was unable to find; M.P.'s children, who started as guides, became frightened and ran home.) S.G. said that there were several inner chambers "each as big as a house" and that they were filled with native treasures (baskets, beads, feather ornaments, etc.) and female effigies of stuffed skins. When one walked over the hill one could hear it was hollow, "your footsteps sound different." S.G. expressed apprehension lest the hill might some day be dynamited, for if so, "all kinds of bad diseases would fly out over the country."

825 778 539 M.P. had a frightening experience there (hence her children's nervousness). The rocks of the bluff are painted with pictographs, she said, but she would not accompany me there.

756 Long ago her uncle warned her not to look at them as she would get sore eyes. Moreover there was a beautiful weird dog there which came out of the rocks to attack investigators. However, she and her cousin went down there one evening just at dusk. A ghost came out after them. They jumped to one side of the trail and "it went right by and on down the hill looking like fire." M.P. believed that the cross she was wearing at the time saved her. When the girls reached home the uncle chided them for going down there. He said that in that hill were [the skins of] beautiful boys and girls stuffed with tule, and each one had a basket of money. The shamans had eaten their flesh and liver. The dog which guarded the cache had a snake's body and human hands for feet. A white man once saw it, shot at it, and died the next morning.

The belief in these guardian dogs explains the common term for shamans' caches, wherever

[258] Shown in Steward, Petroglyphs of California, 110-139, figs. 51, 52.

539 778 825 1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29 [P. 113b] Wukchumni,

756 located, Čoiš·šu (dog place); the correct name is pački.

Anecdotes of Supernatural and Curing Experiences

787 1. J.P.'s grandmother, Pono´ss, dreamed
776 of a roadrunner which came and hopped on her hand; it told her how to help women in labor. She was not a professional doctor: "this was just her ain·c" [dream helper].

2. J.P.'s maternal great-uncle, Holo'anši, was a snake handler; J.P.'s poša was Rattlesnake.[259] Once J.P. was bitten by a rattlesnake;
[752] he went to his uncle, who cut off the snake, put it in a bag, and later released it near a rock pile. The uncle sucked the wound and put ashes on it; he told J.P. never to kill a snake.

3. In 1926, J.P.'s horse, while grazing, was bitten on the nose by a rattlesnake. It was sick for a week yet recovered although J.P. did nothing to cure it. J.P. said, "It got well because Rattlesnake is my poša. Anybody else's horse would have died. Yes, sir!"

787 4. J.P.'s maternal great-uncle, Holo'anši
789 was of the Rattlesnake lineage. He had the
776 special power of being invulnerable to bullets, having "dreamed of a gun that didn't go off" [sic]. He dreamed thus:

He was down in a gulley. Two men came along and shot at him, but the bullets did not penetrate his clothes. They called to him to come up, but instead he flew out of his clothes and landed on the far side of the [Kaweah] river. There he turned into a rattlesnake "so that even the horses could not see him."

An analogue to this dream occurred soon after. The old man was down by the river when two white men, one of whom was John Doe,[260] came by on horseback. They called to him and, when he did not respond, shot at him. "The bullets came right at him but didn't hurt him." He called on his poša: instantly he turned into a rattlesnake and slipped away in the underbrush.

J.P. added that dreams of invulnerability were common.

756 5. The power of flying, known to northern
789 neighbors of the Wukchumni, was mentioned by
237 S.G.

A shaman from Kings River came down to a Wukchumni celebration a long time ago. He was going to be killed by some avengers, but someone warned him. He had three strings of eagledown cord each about five feet long. At this ceremony he walked out across the assembly space dragging the talismans behind him. Suddenly he vanished from sight. After the trouble was over he reappeared again.

756 6. J.B. told of a man who dreamed he was
787 chased by a ghost (tawatsa) all the way from Dunlap to Drum Valley. When he arrived there, a shaman already knew what had happened and told of it. "Doctors always knew what other people dreamed."

[259] He followed his maternal lineage totem because his paternal ancestry was part white.

[260] J.P. added, "John Doe went blind because he wasn't a good man. He had a lot of white doctors to help him but he didn't treat them right."

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 114 a] Wukchumni

756 7. J.B. accused Čokonik, a Choinimni
754 shaman of great power, of making his son ill.[261] "He was a big doctor. He thought I had lots of money so he made my boy sick. He made him sick and then cured him." Čokonik used the sucking method; he exhibited a fingernail as the intrusive cause. During the treatment he talked to Owl, asking that tutelary to help him and telling Owl what he was going to do. He also rubbed the patient with a talisman (ainič). He was well paid with money and baskets.

755 8. M.P. lived with her maternal grandmother after her own mother died. Both women mourned deeply for this death. M.P. became very ill from prolonged crying and fasting. She developed a chronic headache and could not see. Her uncle called a shaman. When he
[304] arrived, she was in a stupor. He cut her between the eyebrows,[262] at the back of the neck, and on the left breast. He sucked and extracted a lot of her own mother's hair from these wounds. The hair he wrapped around an eagle feather and then burned the whole thing. He explained that her mother had been trying to take her [to the afterworld], that the grandmother's continuous crying for her dead daughter had thus brought her back. Then M.P. was "able to get right up and eat."

● [778] 9. M.P. had a headache on another occasion. The shaman who treated her [Haičača] had an owl head and a falcon head as talismans. He wet these in a small basket of water from Gutsnumi, which he kept calling on for help. He pressed the wet objects on her head and blew on it twice. Then he shook her head gently but rapidly back and forth. Then he cut between her eyes and sucked out "a little plain blood" which he burned.

756 10. The following affairs of Haičača were recounted by his niece, M.P.

Haičača (Jim Hangton) was one of M.P.'s maternal uncles. He became a shaman although his father was not one: Bear was their family totem. When he was young he did not eat any meat; he spent most of his time outdoors, away from the village, hunting. What game he brought home his grandmother skinned and cooked. The lad became hungry and asked for some meat, but his grandfather told him "not to look at meat, to just eat some acorn mush and go to bed." Haičača did as he was told.

During the night the old man poked the boy and his four brothers with a long pole, telling them to get up and go swimming as it was nearly morning. Sometimes he made them go in the middle of the night.[263] "The boys got awful tired of this."

756 Finally one night Haičača dreamed an
787 enormous frog came to him. The frog said, "Hello, napas [brother's son, w.s.]. I will be your guiya [paternal aunt]. I will help you when you need me." The next morning the boy told the grandfather his dream. He was sent to swim and then to hunt until the afternoon. When he came home, his grandmother gave him a little

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[261] J.A., a Chunut informant, also accused Čokonik of malpractice (cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 395).

[262] The scars are visible, as they are on other informants who have been subjected to this method of curing.

[263] Note that all the boys were subjected to the rigorous night bathing but only one became a shaman.

756 acorn mush. He went swimming in the middle of
the ensuing night and then came home and slept
787 until dawn "when opod [sun] called him." He
swam again and ate a tiny piece of meat for
breakfast. Haičača continued this routine
until both his grandparents died.

After that he went to live "over Telamni
way." While there, he dreamed of Crow (ho·toi),
[778] who promised him aid "if he would only believe
in what he was dreaming." He secured a crow's
wing which, as a talisman (ain·č), he kept
close to his person. About a month later a
shaman who came down from Dunlap engaged
Haičača in a gambling game. This doctor could
hear the crow talisman (hotoi ain·č) singing
under Haičača's clothes: "It kept singing
[754] 'kah! kah! kah!'" The shaman demanded the talis-
man. Haičača denied that he possessed one,
"but it was no use." The doctor threatened to
make him sick and kill him if he did not give
it up. So Haičača gave up the crow wing and he
cried for an entire week over the loss.

At about this time Haičača's mother's
756 cousin, whom he went to visit at Naranjo, gave
787 him some jerky. He took the meat home and ate
it. Soon his heart began to palpitate. He
754 started to go to Dohem [?], where he was work-
ing, and after crossing the river he coughed
up blood. It was at Dohem that he had had his
first dream of Frog, and when he reached there
he vomited. He remembered his dream and called
on Frog to help him. Down at the spring where
he went to drink, a big frog came to him. The
man had lain down by the water and the frog
jumped on his stomach. At once he vomited an
object that "looked like blood all wrapped up
in coyote hair." Then a whole chorus of little
frogs came up around his feet and sang.
Haičača felt better at once and, rising, went
right back to Naranjo. His "uncle" ran off at
his approach and did not return until Haičača
left.

Subsequently Haičača went down to Tulare
to shear sheep. One night, while his vest was
hanging on his bed, someone put poison on the
shoulder of it. When he put on the garment,
his shoulder felt like fire. He kept the vest,
however, and a little later a woman "burned it
up for him." Instead of being cured, the
shoulder became worse; his shoulder, chest, and
finally arm, hand, and foot swelled up badly.
"He nearly died." How he was cured of this
ailment M.P. did not know, "unless by a Catho-
lic priest's prayer."

756 Haičača became a good doctor; "he never
hurt anybody." He would have taught M.P. to be
a doctor "if she had been a boy. There were
lots of women doctors south of Kern River."

[237] Haičača once cured M.P.'s husband, J.P.,
of a lame back. For this he used the eagle-
head talisman for rubbing. "Then he cut and
sucked out blood in the shape of two little
frogs."

546 11. The only case known to my informants
613 of a water creature serving as a family totem
(poša) was that of H.L.'s family. M.P. told
825 of it. H.L. himself is "master of Otter"
(naha'at). Neither H.L. nor his sister will
eat fish "because their father was sick for a
long time from fish."[264]

[264] On the contrary, Fish, as his poša, cured him in both
illnesses recounted. The statement is merely a case of in-
version due to H.L.'s inadequate English.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 149 b] Choinimni

BURIAL

763 616 If it were thought a man would die within a day or two, the chief of his moiety would be asked to send a messenger to notify and assemble his relatives. Burial was made the 764 morning after death occurred. The deceased's own family washed the corpse, put it in its best clothing, adding ornaments of "money" beads and personal talismans, such as those of eagle-down string. Then the body was wrapped, with flexed posture, in hides.

764 767 Meanwhile official buriers (tono ˇc:m) had dug a grave, and they came to carry away the corpse and bury it. P.D.W. thought that this occupation "went from father to son," but he was uncertain under questioning. He emphatically denied that they were berdaches: "they were just plain men and women." They performed no dance, nor did they make a speech at the grave.

765 773 The story of the man who followed his wife to the afterworld was not known to P.D.W., and when told of this legendary trip, he evinced great surprise. (This lack of information was one of the many peculiarities of this informant and his knowledge.)

765 302 Mayfield reports the usual shortening of hair and the smearing of pitch and charcoal on women's hair and face as evidences of mourning.[21]

SHAMANISM

756 This subject was a difficult one for P.D.W. From others I had learned that he had been a doctor's winatum and, like most of them, had acquired considerable knowledge of doctors' ways. With the disappearance of true doctors among the Indians today, he had attempted to practice himself. While not eminently successful, he at least had the respect of neighboring Indians, who often appealed to him for help. It was also said that he had been put in jail twice by white authorities because of this practice, a punishment which the old man bore with fortitude, stating that "they can put me in jail, but they can't kill me." Consequently, questions on his own methods of doctoring had to be avoided, and he even hedged away from queries about specific doctors of earlier [778] times. However, in a sudden excess of confidence he got out his martenskin talisman to show me. This he stroked with a kind of loving abstraction as we were talking, and he voluntarily gave it to me to hold and stroke. In [683] old times evil shamans were dispatched, with public approval, as elsewhere in the San Joaquin.

756 787 276 To be a doctor you had to have a dream (ana ˇtsiwal)[22] of an animal or bird, which was

[21] Latta, op. cit., 39.

[22] To be sleepy is ɛn'ˇt:m. The name of the tribe Entimbich was mentioned here, and P.D.W. denied any pun or meaning in this connection.

[P.169a] Kechayi

the door and calling on the name of his father or grandfather, to whom the cave was supposed to have belonged, and the door opened. Within were baskets, money, feather ornaments, skins -- all valuable things. He could take anything he wanted from the left side of the enclosure. The right side was filled with articles that belonged to his most ancient ancestors, and these "had too much power." They served as guardians of the place, for their power would kill anyone who touched them. Thus, if a stranger should succeed in entering the pački, he would be afraid to take anything as he would not know which ones he could safely touch [sic] (see below, Čipit's death). After a doctor had acquired much power, his helpers might tell him to use some of the tabu things, "but if a doctor did that he would get mean and care no more for people or being a good doctor."

Procedure.---A man who wanted to become a shaman would seek dreams from adolescence on. When a supernatural helper visited him in a dream, he rose and went out into the hills, where he "lay down to dream some more." The dream helper, usually a bird or animal, came to him, gave him a song and instructions about curing, and told him what talismans to use. The man stayed out all day, fasting and talking prayerfully to his assistant. As the man dreamed more, his power increased; the "animals" came more readily, so he was often away for days at a time. It would be said of such a man, "pana ´n:t a ´m:n časa ´šti (coming his helper; če ´saš, the supernatural helper, lit., dog).

When a man had dreamed sufficiently, all the animals of his moiety gathered on a hill near a [his father's ?] cache. The man was there too, and the animals opened the pački, telling him to enter. He stayed in there four days. No one at home knew where he was, and often people went out in search of him. While he was in the pački the animals told him what to do. They gave him more songs and danced with him all night. They gave him his regalia: "this just appeared on him, nobody knew where it came from." Later on, when he needed more things -- baskets, beads, or feathers -- he would go back to the pački to get them. At the end of four days the animals sent him out, but instead of going home he remained in the hills two more days [total, six]. The animals instructed him to do this as "he would die" if he went home too soon.[69] When he did go home, he made his first dance (Shaman's Debut), announcing the beginning of his career. He did not again dream of his helpers but called on them when he needed their aid.

Shaman's debut.---When a man felt that his power was sufficient (and usually he had tested

[69]This is the pattern often found as a codicil to tales of supernatural experiences from the southern half of California. They must be told of at a certain time, usually not before six days have elapsed. (See Gayton and Newman, Myths, abstract 139, note 21.)

756 it by making minor cures), he gave a public dance (a ʼnuṭun ti ʼša) at which he cured a patient. This formal announcement of his professional status began with dancing in the sweat house. He wore all the usual regalia, and had one or two singers to sing for his dancing. Any man who wished might go in to watch, but women never entered. As he danced, his power talked to him and told him when it was time for him to go outside to continue the dancing and make the cure. This is the source of the name for the ritual, literally, "doctor's going-out" or "doctor's emergence." After his emergence he told, as he sang, of his supernatural experience. Then he cured the patient who was already there.

If a doctor did not wish to start his ritual inside the sweat house, he could begin outdoors, but in that case he had to have some older and established shaman dance with him.

At his debut and on later occasions a wise young man would be discreet about his disclosures concerning his supernatural power. To give the impression of having much power would engender jealousy among the older shamans, who might injure his power or even kill him.

756 A distinction was made between the doctor
789 (a ʼnṭu) who had to cut and suck in order to cure, and the doctor with power (mɛts añṭu, true, actual, great doctor) who cured with rubbing or brushing. The latter, whose course of training is given above, cured by dipping a weasel skin (ču ʼduñ) in water and stroking it over the patient. The sickness was squeezed from the skin onto a tray, removed by the doctor's winatum, and burned.

756 There were no other special classes of
[535 doctors. Men with Bear power were regarded as
● 778] dancers, not doctors, "though they had plenty of ṭɛpni."

In this connection E.M. said the Choinimni P.D.W. was sufficiently trained to do curing by rubbing as well as by cutting and sucking. Two years ago (1927) he had come to the Friant rancheria and given the ceremony for general preventative curing. They were expecting him to come again soon for the same purpose.

Fees.--A doctor who failed to cure would return the fee itself or objects of equal value. If a patient were very sick and obviously unlikely to recover, the doctor might refuse to take the case. If he had come from far away, he would be paid -- and he would accept -- something as recompense for his futile trip.

Sometimes a doctor would be killed for losing a patient. If the doctor were from another tribe, he and his chief would meet the bereaved family and their chief for the purpose of making a financial adjustment. During the discussion the bereaved persons "might get so mad they would kill the doctor and his chief right on the spot." [E.M. could not substantiate this with a case; it was "just what she had heard."]

[P. 190 a] Kechayi

754 Theoretically, there were no "bad" doctors in the San Joaquin River region. Those who made "poison" were said to be south of Kings River.

755 Cures.---The term for sickness in general was toi ʼyoti·yaš heʼba (night into [?] blood). E.M. could not describe specific sicknesses and their cures. Usually the doctor cut and sucked, drawing out a pebble or "button," which was exhibited.

Once a Chukchansi woman, Saiʼhu, went out to gather milkweed. Soon she got sick; her throat was sore. "That bush had made her sick." The shaman Čokonʌk sucked at her clavicle and produced a worm that had come from the bush.

753 755 Consumption, saneʼnaš, was due to "not growing right from the start" or, if the symptom of coughing blood was present, it was thought to be caused by a doctor. There was no cure for this "though the doctors always tried everything."

787 753 Dreams of the dead caused sickness.

769 755 Long ago E.M. dreamed constantly of her dead mother and sister. A Kechayi doctor, Wewuʼki (Old Dick) was sent for. He was Tokelyuwich, but he could cure people of either moiety. He told everyone in the village to assemble for an all-night ceremony for the dead. With a cocoon rattle he sang for a very long time. Then he asked everyone there to tell their dreams about dead people. When it was E.M.'s turn, she told hers. He put ashes on her head, as he had done for the others, and called out the names of the dead who were bothering her. He told them to go away and never come back to bother the living. Then he blew the ashes off her head. Never again did she dream of the dead.

756 This doctor did not do any other kind of curing: "he was tʼpni by dead people." Both his parents were Tokelyuwich.

Anecdotes of Supernatural Experience and Dreams

778 157 273 E.M.'s brother, Haiʼaiʻʌč, had power from Bear; he was reckless and liked to make spectacular use of it.

Once he had been drinking quite a bit and thought it would be funny to scare some families who were camping by the river. He ran up and danced like a bear; he pretended to jump into the fire. He ran from camp to camp, jumping into the fire at each one. He grabbed handfuls of coals and scattered them about. Fire spouted from his mouth. The people all broke camp and ran away.

[P. 170 b] Kechayi

778 825 157 203 On another occasion he wanted to get something to drink, and went to kumku m:č (hummingbird place) where there was a little saloon. He came back, drinking along the way, and finally fell by the roadside. While he was unconscious, two bears came. They said, "Let us pack this man to our den." They took him home and kept him all night. When he woke in the morning he was frightened. The bears were dancing; they told him to join, and all danced together for some time. At last they let him go, but told him to be sure to return in four days. As soon as the door opened "he ran out as fast as he could and never went back."

756 556 422 When talking of the doctor's cache or pački E.M. was asked if she had ever seen any of the objects said to be in them. She told the following story.

[64] Long ago E.M. and her mother went blackberrying in the direction of Kings River. The old woman was taken with an acute diarrhea, and died about one week after her return home. At that time E.M.'s brother Hai'ai':č was "just beginning to get his power." He had gone up to visit the Chukchansi, but he knew by supernatural means what was happening at home, so returned. But his mother died before his arrival. Then he went to his father's pački and brought back a large handsome basket. This he placed over his mother's head, and he talked, saying where he had got the basket and that it was to be buried with her. This was the only object that E.M. ever saw which she definitely knew [sic] was from a pački.

756 556 To illustrate the danger of a layman entering a pački she related the following.

422 753 E.M.'s paternal grandfather, Čip:t, and his wife went out to dig roots. The old man went toward his father's pački. Though he was not a shaman, he danced in front of it and called to his father. The door opened a wee bit. He squeezed in and saw the wealth: he put a koikoi belt around his waist and strings of humna around his neck; he took many baskets. He returned to his wife and hung beads on her. They took these things home. Immediately Čip:t fell ill. His face and eyes became swollen, a rash covered his body. He died in six days. He was a plain man and had tampered with power.

787 Another old man who was not a shaman but had a dream helper was Wu'us, "another grandfather" [great uncle?] of E.M.

When E.M. was young, the children were very fond of this old man, they played around him frequently at his house. On one very foggy morning he told them to run outside because he was going to die. The fog cleared suddenly and Wu'us rose to walk around a bit. He fell down dead. Live oak was his power; it had told him he was going to die that day.

787 3. The only dream of teeth which E.M. recalls was one which came to her when she was very sick and weak. At last she was able to sleep but "was bothered by dreams" when she did. She thought her teeth grew very large; they were all like tusks, they filled up her mouth and bulged out. While in this condition she noticed a buckeye tree before her. The tree "threw one of its nuts" at her, striking her between the shoulder blades. Then she woke up. Her mouth felt numb and stiff; she could hardly talk. But immediately she began to recover from her illness. She "watched for another dream but did not have any [significant ones] for a long time."

755 796 Group curing.--This ceremony (mai ʼʼi kama, people dance) was usually held in the late fall (tomo ʻksiu to ʻbxʻn, winter beginning) after all the vegetable foods had been gathered and stored. The doctor who was responsible consulted with the chief (or chiefs) of the village where it was to be given and, when a time was specified, the chief's winatums went out with messages. Everyone near by came, and many people from far off [not more than one day's journey, however].

● [778] The ceremony, like all others, was held outdoors: "all doctors danced outdoors so they could have more power." A fire was supplied by the chief's winatum, who assisted also in collecting payments. The doctor's winatum helped with the curing, handling of patients, and paraphernalia.[70] There was an attendant singer who used the clapper accompaniment. Persons already suffering an illness were laid near the fire, the other people sat around in a circular arrangement behind them.

The doctor did some preliminary dancing near the fire "to make his 'power' stronger." As he danced, his dream helpers spoke to him telling not only how to cure those now ill, but specifically which persons were going to be afflicted with sickness during the ensuing year.

When ready to cure, the doctor took off his vertical feather headdress (čuʼ) and dipped it in a basket of water. He treated the sick people first. With the wet feathers he gently brushed them off, then he squeezed the "sickness" off the feathers onto a flat tray covered with sand. The doctor's winatum exhibited the "sickness," which looked like a viscous mixture of blood and albumen; then he buried it, put fresh sand on the tray, and returned. Most of the patients cured at this time were those already ill, but a patient-elect, designated by doctor's supernatural insight, was given preventive treatment in exactly the same manner. "In this way any kind of sickness could be cured except consumption."

The relatives of the afflicted persons paid the doctor for his services and the chief added a sum "for keeping his people well."

[70] P.D.W., the Choinimni, was a doctor's winatum and had helped on such occasions.

[P. 1759] Kechayi Chuckchansi

796 carried a long painted cane so people would
668 recognize him.[77]

With great effort, particularly in transporting infants and goods across the San Joaquin River, the Kechayi and others journeyed toward Table Mountain, to a site called Šu'kši, a small hill opposite Auberry where there was a spring (the place called Soganiu by Wobonuch informants). This was about May, 1872. Many people were there: there was much confusion in camping and in finding provisions.[78] Chiefs and winatums urged people not to quarrel or they would "die" and would not meet "the father."

The dancing took place in the evening, from about sundown to midnight, with intervals of rest. Sleeping, morning bathing, and daytime behavior were normal. Meat was not tabu.

The dancers circled clockwise to the accompaniment of singing and elderwood clapper. [778] In the center was a pole (wo'kon) on top of

[Text Continues TOP of P. 1756, --- Analyst]

CHUCKCHANSI

TERRITORY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

101
131 Concerning the range of Chukchansi terri-
tory, Kroeber states that they held Coarse Gold
Creek and the head of Cottonwood Creek.[79]
648 Their northern boundary, which marked the end of Yokuts and beginning of Miwok tribal holdings, was at the Fresno River. But their friendliness and intermarriage with Miwok made the boundary a lax one, with each tribe claiming settlements on both sides of the river. Aplau and Yiwisniu were Chukchansi settlements, and they also held Hapasau near Fresno Flats as well as Chukchanau up on Fresno River. Miss Thrall lists the following sites named by her informants N.W., J.R., and C.D.

101
131 lulniu: Oakhurst, an old village site, the western boundary of the Chukchansi
103 gratniu: Picayune (N.W.), an old village site with only one sweat house
kat'an°u: Picayune (J.R.)
dalinao: a settlement where many Chukchansi had lived
dočimilpao: a settlement
baonaiu: a settlement

[649] [Text Continues Middle P. 1756]

[77] Feelings on the west slope of the Sierra Nevada were hostile to the Paiute and Eastern Mono at that time.

[78] E.M. claimed dog meat was eaten there for the first time under pressure of starvation (see Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72); again her statement may have been a "prestige denial."

[79] Handbook, 481-482. Power's statement (Tribes of California, 370) that the Chukchansi were on the San Joaquin River between Whiskey Creek and Millerton does not agree with recent findings. Of course, it is quite possible that the Chukchansi have suffered some displacement and entirely probable that they had salmon-fishing privileges along the San Joaquin. -- A.H.G.

[P. 175b] Kechayi Chuckchansi.

which was a large bead-trimmed basket. This basket "held the power" of the dancers, but had no curing power to revive persons who fell unconscious. The pole was not used at later [Kechayi] dances. This first dance was called ha'lo, but the term was not used thereafter.

The dancers all used moiety paint patterns on their faces.

The affair continued five nights, and on the sixth day they danced all day and night. At this time Joijoi, with two men and three women, dressed and danced in a peculiar manner in an attempt to convince the assemblage that they were the returning dead. The hoax, though quickly discovered, was not resented. Nor was the nonappearance of the dead resented, thinks E.M.

After their return home a few dances were held in various villages.

CHUCKCHANSI

wehil: Grub Gulch, a village with a captain was there

č'ič'ani: Quartz Mountain

t'oxolo: a place east of Raymond, at the foot of the hills, on the Fresno River

kasowu: Friant (the locality or the people, Gashowu?)

nipnoači: a Miwok site 3 or 4 miles north or east of Ahwahnee

The Chukchansi lived at Coarse Gold, Picayune, and as far west as Oakhurst; beyond that was another tribe. Everybody at Lulniu (Oakhurst) is now dead, said M.W. The Chukchansi people went as far north as Yosemite, Southern Miwok territory, said J.R., although none lived permanently north of the Fresno River, unless married to Miwok. Southward they went no farther than Friant, Gashowu territory. If they went to a place, they came directly home again, did not go traveling around. "They don't travel very much, very far. When people go after something, when they get it they come straight home. They got home, here, this is their home." [J.R. thus expressed the strong feeling for a home spot or locale manifest by other Yokuts. -- A.H.G.]

People would move around, perhaps two or three miles for the summer and come back for the winter. They went up in the mountains to get berries or seeds, always going to the same place on which they had a traditional claim. "When white people came they got everything mixed up."

For pine nuts, hazel nuts, and a superior type of elderberry people went far up into the mountains. This trip was made about August and camps were established, as entire families went.

[EP. 2079] Chukchansi

787 A doctor's animal helper was a living one, not a spiritual representative. He could not 825 kill any animal of that breed. One actual 756 animal, however, such as a coyote, could belong to or serve more than one shaman, N.W. thought.

787 She did not know whether white people dreamed in this way but opined that they might, especially if they "believed that way." "The Chinese do." Also L.W. had a white friend who dreamed that way [of animals ?] when she was a little girl.

Shaman's Cache

756 The shaman's cache was attributed only to rain shamans by N.W., but the beliefs she de- 778 scribed concerning it and the dangerous nature 556 of a doctor's paraphernalia were similar to those held by other Yokuts groups. According to her, a rain shaman kept his outfit within a large rock. He would talk to the rock, which would open so he could get his things. Each doctor had his own place; his things would be in a basket set in a hole in the rock which he had created by means of his power. The opening thereto was not palpable to others: "You could go over that rock a thousand times and not find the place." If an ordinary person wants to [789] touch a shaman's paraphernalia, he must safeguard himself by rubbing his hands with wormweed: "Then it doesn't hurt you."

Poisoners

578 Malicious use of poisonous medicines was 682 made by some people who knew the secrets. Once someone rubbed poison on a dress N.W. had hang- 278 ing on a clothesline. When she put on the dress, it made sores. This affliction cannot be cured by means of sucking. It is hard to cure now [method ?]. If some evil woman had some of that poisonous medicine, she might tell someone else, like L.W. to go and kill a certain person with it. L.W. would have to do it or she herself would die [at the poisoner's hands ?]. Even today these people [poisoners] are feared although no poisonings have occurred "since a long time ago."

Rain Shamans

791 The art of rain-making was learned from a living rain shaman, although dreaming was an essential part of success. A father usually taught one of his sons and left him his outfit when he died.

There was an old man named Soket at [787] O'Neals who made rain.[145] N.W. saw him when he was getting his power. He dreamed, not of

[145] He was the grandfather of Mandy Lewis.

[P. 231a] Western Mono NS25

were "always picked out by the tia'a" (S.O.). Their only function was to assist as financial sponsors of mourning ceremonies or other celebrations for which much money was to be expended. The chief supplied the major sum and the secondary chiefs made up any deficit. The secondary chiefs at Tušao appointed by Kotobič (Bill Tyner) were Halo'pča (Coyote Jim, a shaman), Šo'o'k (Bob ----), and Hai'kao (the informant S.O.). The money they contributed was given to the chief, who had it distributed among the reciprocal "washers" at the mourning ceremonies.

The winatum (na'tinab, Waksachi) had the same duties among Michahai and Waksachi as among the Yokuts tribes. The Waksachi held that Roadrunner (o'i'o'i') was the totemic symbol of the winatum lineage, but admitted Dove (he'wi) as a secondary or equivalent totem. This means that a Waksachi messenger, while regarding Roadrunner as his patrilineally inherited totem, would yet not kill nor eat a dove, and might even say, "Dove is my ibuk," whereas his children would not necessarily respect Dove unless they took up a winatum's office.

The winatum received payment for all his services, both from the sender and receiver of a message. When going about to announce a mourning ceremony he carried a cane which, according to S.O., was undecorated and about eight feet long.

Lineage Totems

The animal associated with a family line, patrilineally inherited and venerated, was called in Michahai poša, in Waksachi, ibuk. The reciprocal word pošam, for the person who had the poša was frequently on S.O.'s lips. In

[text continued on top of p. 231b]

Person	Tribe
K:lmiš:t, winatum	Michahai
Tčaod:t	Waksachi
Ya'ailat	Entimbich (?)
Takač, chief	Entimbich
Wotuš	(?)
Hawanuč	Wukchumni
Mosus	Entimbich
Čeči	Entimbich
"Buffalo Bill," messenger	Wobonuch
Kučum	Choinimni
Hučač	(?)
Waja, I	Wobonuch
Kuijal	(?)
Wilolohi	Wobonuch
Supana	Wobonuch
Upe''ač	Entimbich (?)
Etak	Waksachi
Halopča	Waksachi
Palaha	Waksachi
Haipuš, singer	Wobonuch
Pušl:l:n, shaman	Chukaimina

[list continued on middle of p. 231b]

W Y 613 trying to conclude just what animals were lineage totems, S.O. thought over a number of people, naming, as they came to mind, those whose poša he knew. He carefully distinguished between the lineage animal (poša) and the dream helper (ai´n:č); when he knew the latter he named it. This list is given below. In the Waksachi vocabulary of birds and animals given by B.O. (pp. 223-224) is his identification of animals as lineage totems. It will be seen that the creatures so functioning are definitely limited.

W Y 613 778 At Tušao there was no one who had Snake poša, and at Čitatu there was no Bear pošam whom S.O. or B.O. could recall. S.O. had never heard of Fish as a Totem, nor were buzzard or deer ever family symbols. Some people "might have had" Crow, but he did not recall any specifically. Weasel could be "a dream helper for anybody but he was never anybody's poša." Before human beings were here, i.e., in the prehistoric animal era when Eagle was chief, "Crow and Roadrunner were winatums along with Dove. They all ran around and helped." The Waksachi lean toward Roadrunner as the winatum's poša rather than Dove.

W Y 616 Of moieties S.O. knew practically nothing. He said some Tachi had told him about Eagle being Nutuwich and Falcon Tokelyuwich [even this is wrong] but he "had never heard of anybody doing like that" [having two classes of people]. He insisted that neither the Waksachi, Wobonuch, and Chukaimina nor the Michahai had any moiety arrangement. About the Choinimni he "didn't know."

W Y 582 People married without regard to totemic animal relationship; the degree of blood relationship was the determining factor.

W Y 613 619 776 778

Totem	Dream helper
Dove	---
Eagle	---
Dove	---
Eagle	---
Eagle	---
Eagle	---
Eagle	---
Bear	---
Dove, Roadrunner	---
Dove	---
Eagle	---
Eagle	---
Dove	---
Eagle	Cougar (for hunting)
Bear	Bear (for dancing)
Eagle	---
Owl	---
Owl	---
Eagle	Cougar (hunting)
Fox	---
Snake	Coyote

Redemption of Totem Animals, Aerie Ownership

Ritualistic payment was tendered for the killing of eagles, falcons, bears, and occasionally coyotes.

Eagle.--Eagles were not often killed although, according to both B.O. and S.O., it was not thought dangerous to do so, nor was it necessary to have permission from the chief if the eagle were a stray one. An eagle known to belong to a chief's aerie would not be killed. However, said S.O., "When a man killed an eagle, he took it to a chief -- Eagle is chief." The chief then sent out word, and everyone, regardless of his poša, came to make a payment to the hunter. The chief contributed a larger sum than the rest, but it was he who came into possession of the bird and kept or sold its valuable parts. The head, skin, and leg bones had ceremonial uses as talismans of supernatural power: the head as it was, the skin for its down, and the bones for whistles [sic]. Wing feathers were used on arrows. (The same parts of falcons were similarly used.) When the chief resold these items, he made a slight profit. Both S.O. and B.O. agreed that neither Michahai nor Waksachi honored the carcass with a special burial in earth or water.

Live eagles and falcons were the subject of redemption more often than were dead specimens. B.O. said people would get young eagles to rear in order to sell them eventually to chiefs. "When a chief heard of a person having one somewhere he would send his winatum to have it brought over." As soon as the day of its arrival was known, the chief ordered all the people with Eagle ibuk (poša, totem) to assemble. They came dressed in their best, stood in a long line, and danced while the eagle was held by its owner. A blanket was then put on the ground and the bird set upon it. The chief who was redeeming the bird had a large basket of beads and perhaps a rabbitskin blanket or other valuables. The other people filed past the bird, each one throwing down a handful of beads on the blanket. Finally the chief put down his basket of beads and gifts and took up the bird saying, "That is my ibuk." The former owner then took up his pay. There was no weeping.

The eagle was then kept "by the chief and his family as long as it wanted to stay." It was fed fresh raw meat daily. B.O.'s father had one: it would go off each year and come back for a while; finally it never returned.

For the same procedure with living birds, S.O. stated that "when the birds were grown they were given [sic] to some neighboring chief, like Wukchumni or anywhere." When the owner was ready to dispose of his bird, he sent his winatum to notify the chief whom he had determined upon as the recipient. If the offer was

accepted, he took the bird down[167] and was given a paying ceremony as described above (see also Wukchumni, Tachi). The purchasing chief could keep, resell, or free the bird at his will.

Accessible eagle and falcon aeries were owned by chiefs,[168] and the young birds taken from them each year. S.O. described the procedure of his father, K·lmi´š·t, winatum, and the chief, Pao'·č, at Tušao.

In the rocks on the steep hillside above Tušao there was a kini´ hawk's (Duck Hawk, the peregrine falcon) nest. The young hatched about March. Each spring the chief and his winatum went to get them. Although Pao'·č was an old man, it was he, rather than the winatum, K·lmiš·t, who climbed down over the edge of the bluff. He had a rope of ho' tied around his waist, and K·lmiš·t stood above, holding the other end. The nest was in a crevice about forty feet below the top of the rocks and about one hundred feet above the little valley bottom. When Pao'·č reached the nest he jerked the rope as a sign that he was safe. He had a deerskin, in which he wrapped the one or two small birds, and put them on his back in a carrying net slung from his shoulders. The old birds usually came back, scolding and making feints at the intruder. Then the chief would talk to the birds, telling them what was to be done with their children, how they were to be honored, and so on. At the same time he would be calling upon his supernatural powers for aid: "Pao'·č was helped by all his ain·č." Then the old man would jerk the rope and K·lmiš·t would help hoist him up.

The little falcons were too young to fly off. They were kept in the house for a while, but as they grew bigger they were put out in near-by trees where they sat or flew off a little as they pleased. Pao'·č and K·lmiš·t "had to go out every day to hunt fresh meat for the birds."

There was another hawk's nest about a quarter-mile farther up the cañon. This was a tua´kini', "who went off at night but stayed home all day,"[169] but its young were not taken.

Bear.---Bears were given ritual redemption, but only members of Bear lineages were called upon to pay. When the headman of a Bear lineage, who was usually an elderly man who had acquired dream power from Bear (i.e., he was not merely a plain lineage member) learned that a bear had been brought in to a village, he assembled his people. The head, paws and claws,

[167] The route was usually downward, i.e., plainwards, as the eagles were more prized at a distance from the hills.

[168] I failed to discover how these were inherited, whether they went with the chiefly office or to a natural heir who was not necessarily the succeeding chief.

[169] The identification of tua´kini' is uncertain; as a hero in Eastern Mono mythology he equates with the Yokuts falcon who may be either the Prairie Falcon or Duck Hawk. The true night hawk is not supposed to occur in California.

and skin of the animal were laid on a blanket, and the Bear pošam formed a line and threw money on the blanket as they filed by. However, the Bear headman received only the paws or claws. The animal's head and teeth were thrown away. The hunter himself still retained the bearskin which he might give, but could not sell, to a Bear pošam; he could not give it to anyone else (S.O.). But according to B.O., the skin was sold or could be obtained by the Bear headman through the redemption process. In either case the hunter kept the carcass, the meat of which he was free to eat or give away.

Bear cubs were sometimes reared, but they were never given a ritual redemption as were young eagles. They could be sold to anyone, usually westward to plains people. B.O. himself once had a little cub which he "took away off and turned loose when he was big enough to look after himself."

Coyote.--Coyotes were rarely killed. But a killed coyote could be taken to a man of a Coyote lineage, and some money would be given in return The skin might be used for a Coyote clown costume, but was not valued otherwise. Evidently coyote redemption was not a regular practice and, possibly because of its rarity as a lineage animal, was not a profitable one for the hunter.

Naturally, no killer was totemically attached to the animal killed. Also, for all totemic animals except the bear cubs, the redeemers felt it incumbent upon them to honor their dead totem by the ritual payment.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

There were no definite observances or proscriptions during pregnancy. Some women ate only soft food as a matter of personal preference. Some avoided doing heavy work, such as pounding acorns, during the last months. If the prospective mother's residence were patrilocal, the mother-in-law might do her work for her; if she were at home, one of her sisters might do all her work (S.O.). A woman who felt sick did not have to work, relatives of her own family would help her (D.) But D. added that there was no rule for this: convenience and circumstance determined the behavior of all persons concerned.

A pregnant woman was referred to as ča·n witːp nuš (will be baby [?]), and the act of giving birth was called axː ́diši. The woman remained in her own house where she lay on her back on a bed of mats during delivery. Two stakes to which she clung were driven into the ground on either side. Usually she had one woman assistant who might be any knowledgeable female relative of her own or husband's family. This midwife pressed the parturient around the

W Y 769 first giving them money, the women followed giving acorn meal or berries. The singers had large baskets with them to receive these things.

Then the mourners "sang loud and danced around in a circle. Some had effigy dolls at this little fandango." These, and any remaining possessions of the deceased, were thrown on the fire. They were not given to the washers (as at the "big" ceremony).

W Y [783] Next morning, just after sunrise, the washer or washers took baskets of hot water and washed the mourners "all over" and put new clothes on them. They also presented them with meat, which the winatums took to prepare for a general feast. There was no dancing or other festivity at this time. At the end, the mourners, assisted by a contribution from the chief, gave a sum of money to the washers and their companions. The visiting chief "got about three or four times as much money as the others."

Usually a little mourning ceremony of this kind lasted but one day and night, but its length differed with the wealth or the desire for display of the bereaved. Sometimes the affair would last four or five days, i.e., the burning and washing were postponed while the singers sang each morning. (Meanwhile the guests had to be fed and the singers must be paid that much more.) If it was thought that there would not be a "big" tribal ceremony during the forthcoming year, the "little" one was made more elaborate.

W Y 769 426 There was no money exchange for interest (lakʰna´nʰč) connected with the smaller ritual, save as the mourners might have to borrow money privately to meet the expense.

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Training and Practice

W Y 756 778 The acquisition and uses of supernatural power were so well understood by S.O. that he could readily formulate the following statements. There are some interpolations from B.O. and D. I think it is safe to assume that S.O.'s account can serve for the culture of all the Central Foothill tribes: it enlarges, but in no way contradicts, the statements of less knowledgeable and intelligent informants. S.O. made it clear, as had others, that the distinction between a common person with a little privately used power and the professional public shaman was one of quantity of power. The procedure for acquiring power was the same for all: the ambitious person continued his efforts and strove for dreams of more and stronger supernatural helpers (e.g., Cougar, Eagle, Coyote, Owl) than the person who was content with one or two dreams of lesser helpers (e.g., Blackbird, Night, Fox). This, of course, did not apply to women who might and did acquire "private" power but never became professional

doctors. S.O. said he had "never seen or heard of a woman doctor." There was no shamans' class or society or form of initiation.

There was no difference between preparation for doctoring (shamanism) and ordinary seeking of power except that of the amount of effort expended. Nor did procedure differ in seeking one tutelary rather than another. The nature of the supernatural power (tɨ´pni) was the same: the quantity of power in terms of the number of dream helpers (ai´nɨč) and the abilities they sponsored determined the difference. All people began to have significant dreams, or at least to notice them, about the time of adolescence. Whether or not these offers of supernatural aid were accepted was entirely a matter of individual choice, as was also the kind of dream. Thus, if a youth wished to become a doctor, he would accept a dream of "doctoring" brought by, say, Owl or Coyote, and discourage or reject a dream from Cougar, who gave hunting power. Theoretically, said S.O., through the medium of dream anything might tell a youth to doctor -- an animal, insect, or even some other doctor, or such elements as Night, Water, Thunder, etc. But actually the things dreamed of were relatively few (when compared to the all-inclusive "anything") and no case of an inanimate object (such as a pestle, basket, or bow) being a dream helper was known. The "best" helper was Eagle; his power was the strongest. But Owl and Coyote were the traditional shamans' sponsors. When dreamed of, they would offer aid to the dreamer, tell him that he could cure people, and what talismans to use.

Although it was not compulsory to accept offers of supernatural aid, it was advised by older people, who would admonish the young to acquire at least a little power for themselves. They would say to their young relatives, "If you don't do this, you will die soon. You are young now. It is time for you to start now [to attend to your dreams]." Old men thus would address the younger generation in the sweat house or when they came to visit in a house. When S.O. was young, he would sit by his father's fire, fanning it, and ask visitors to tell him stories and advise him on conduct.

The procedure for inducing dreams was thus laid down by S.O.:

1. Tobacco must be drunk every night, after supper and before retiring, to cause vomiting.
2. Go to bed with the mind set on the sort of dream desired.
3. Dream; if the dream is irrelevant, ignore it.
4. If the dream is significant, get up and walk some distance from the house, 100 feet or more.
5. There talk to the visitant in the dream, saying it [or its instructions] had been heard, that it is accepted and now "owned" by

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 239b] Western Mono NS 25
W Y 787

the dreamer and will be used henceforth for all time. [See dreams recorded below.]

6. Return to bed, but do not sleep under any circumstances.

7. Get up in the morning as usual, but do not bathe or eat.

8. Select some secluded spot outside of the village and start for it in time to arrive not a moment later than high noon.

9. When there, at noon, again address the dream helper, asking its aid, asking it to come again in dreams.

10. Speak respectfully to the sun, moon, and stars, when seen at such times of address or prayer.

11. Refrain from eating meat or grease in any form. Acorn mush and gruel is the regular diet during such quest periods.

This routine was continued as long as one wished but, if one were deeply serious, one might also:

W Y [781] [778]

12. Drink jimsonweed every spring.

13. Go off alone to bask in the sun [advisable but not essential]. Doctors often went out to lie down in the sun. S.O. today (1926) spends much of his time sitting in the sunshine beside his house, fingering and stroking his eagle-down talisman (fig. 2 herein). He attributes his good health to his doing this: "the sun hears and knows everything, both day and night."

W Y 787 782 181

The ordinary person who sought dream power but had no intention of becoming a shaman did

W Y [778]

Fig. 2. Sacred talisman of abalone shell and eagle-down cord belonging to Michahai informant S.O.

[EP. 240 a] Mono vs 25

W Y 787 782 181 so to obtain longevity. A man, like S.O., could ask his dream helper to cure or aid some other person, often a young relative, without being considered a real shaman. The desire for good health and long life was a common one; as voiced in prayerful address to the sun, moon, and stars it usually ran something like this: "I see you [Sun], I see you all the time. Help me to have a good life." Water, particularly that of springs, was thought to be immortal -- "it is everywhere all the time" -- and, if dreamed of, was a sponsor of longevity. Whenever S.O. came upon a little spring or creek he "sprinkled a little bit on himself so he would live long."

W Y 787 778 776 The dream, the dream helper, and the talismans used to represent the helper were all called by the same term, ain·č. The talisman was usually some part of the animal dreamed of, and while, as a profane object, it might be secured by purchase, it was nevertheless sacred and empowered with the supernatural force, t·´pni. Once it became a talisman, it was never sold.

A dream helper could visit only one person at a time, but yet might visit several persons the same night. [The likelihood of many persons having the same dream the same night is slight; and the fact might not happen to be disclosed, as such matters were not spoken of in open or common conversation.] When a talisman of a certain helper has been used once, it loses its power and must be redreamed. Hence the need for several dream helpers and talismans if one wanted much and dependable supernatural power. Talismans were loaned among friends and worked as well for another as for the owner. (Wukchumni mention thefts of these.) But they were never sold. Shamans frequently assisted each other by lending talismans, or, retaining them themselves, used them to help another accomplish his purpose.[178]

W Y 787 828 As to the nature of dreaming, S.O. could only say that it was one's spirit moving about and having the experience. "When you go to sleep, you walk around some place. I have gone off to those springs around here lots of times. Your spirit [aha·bawa, Michahai] goes anywhere." It is the ahabawa that has all dream experience: people who meet in dreams are ahabawa. To illustrate this further S.O. said he once had a home in Drum Valley where he was very happy, living with his wife, and after her death he continued to live there with his mother-in-law. Now, even today, his ahabawa goes over there: he sees the place, although he is blind and he knows the house is no longer there. He often

[178] This was especially true when shamans allied for nefarious purposes (cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 393).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 2406] Western Mono NS25

dreams that his mother-in-law is there too.[179] When people dreamed of someone in this casual manner (i.e., not a "power" dream), they might speak of it to each other, saying, for example, "I saw your brother" (uhe·wia nü u·bun·t, Waksachi).

Significant or "power" dreams were told only to the most intimate friends, usually only to one who was also seeking t·pni. There was no formal prohibition on disclosing them; rather it was a matter of wisdom and good taste not to talk of, and particularly not to brag of, one's supernatural power.[180] Other people were aware, of course, of a seeker's activities and knew that he was by way of being a doctor. A man was usually thirty to forty years old before he felt that he knew enough to cure as a professional shaman. It was often through the intimate acquaintance of two friends who knew of each other's supernatural experiences that a budding shaman secured his first patient.

Thus, a man who had a sick child might be too poor to pay a high fee or might be distrustful of established shamans. The intimate friend of the novice would suggest to the father that he let So-and-So try, that he knew he had much power. Or the father himself might be aware of the young man's efforts and want to try him. Whichever the circumstance, the father would approach the young man with a sum of money (less than would be offered a professional practitioner) and ask him to come try to cure his child. If the novice felt he had enough power to attempt it, he would do so; if not, there was no compulsion for him to agree. He would be likely to refuse unless confident of success, as failure always laid a doctor's motives open to suspicion, especially repeated failures. A young doctor, like an old one, was entitled to keep the fee whether the cure succeeded or not, and was often given additional presents of baskets or blankets, if successful.

However, the novice must begin sometime and, if he accepted the fee, would go and do his best. His talismans would be those indicated by his dreams, and his methods of curing would be sucking, blowing, and rubbing, as with all doctors. If the patient recovered, he was recommended to others and so little by little set up a practice, so to say. He continued his training procedure, for always he must re-empower his used talismans, and an accumulation of power was not only desirable but indispensable when he became sufficiently successful to attract attention as a possible rival to older shamans. An initial failure to cure usually led to redoubled efforts to seek power; but

[179] Although S.O. insisted that there was no mother-in-law tabu in his society, it is worthy of remark that he "could not remember" his mother-in-law's name in spite of the fact that his genealogical memory carried over 200 names and his dreams of the woman were cordial.

[180] A story pointing a moral against bragging of one's power appears in Gayton and Newman, 37.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
W [P. 241 9] Western Mono NS25
Y

[755] continuing failures might dissuade the novice
756 from pursuing a shaman's career.

An advance in the attainment of supernatural power was marked by a shaman's entrance into the Shamans' Contest, as only "big" doctors could make the airshot believed derived from the sun. A shaman with little power would fear to attempt it. Moreover, it was customary that entering shamans make and exhibit airshot to the managing winatum before the contest commenced.

W Young doctors were not feared as malevo-
Y lent, as were older, powerful shamans. "Bad
[754 doctoring," the sickening of others for the at-
156] tainment of wealth through fees, political power, or for malicious pleasure, was thought to be a matter of personality. It was a misuse of power by the individual, and was not due to different or evil dream helpers,[181] although it was thought that assistance from several very powerful helpers such as Eagle, Cougar, Coyote, and Owl might endanger a man's good character by putting excessive power in his way. Whether a doctor was good or bad was believed to result largely from his choice of companions. There was a tendency among shamans to form cliques which became mutually antagonistic. S.O. summarized his long exposition by concluding: "A doctor was just a person who had too much power. Sometimes they got mean, tried to see what they could do, and got so they thought they could do anything. People would be here yet if the doctors weren't so mean."

W The procedure between patient and es-
Y tablished doctor was much like that given above
755 for the novice. When a person became ill, some
756 member of the family would go after the doctor whom they had selected, taking a fee with him. More money or objects of value might be given the doctor during the course of curing. It was this practice of "bleeding" a patient's relatives that led avaricious men to the shaman's profession and, when carried too far, brought the outraged family to the conclusion that the patient was in truth the shaman's own victim. Even if death resulted, the initial fee was not returned; the doctor "usually was told to keep it." But S.O. knew of instances wherein half was returned; to obviate suspicion a conscientious doctor would want to do this.

The doctor summoned would normally agree
W to visit the sick person, but he would proceed
● Y to curing only if he felt disposed to do so.
755 The first thing he would try would be rubbing
[237 the patient with his talisman. Cutting (for
778] ● sucking) was not thought good practice. The doctor's talisman, which might be a weasel skin, owl's head, stone, etc., was dipped in a basket of water and rubbed on parts of the patient's body. As he did this, the shaman talked to the

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[181] Cf. Chukchansi; a Chukchansi man might become the unwilling abettor of his supernatural helpers.

EP. 242 b] Wash Mono NS25

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One night when he was staying with a friend he fell asleep suddenly. Then Night spoke to him chidingly, saying that S.O. was treating him badly, ignoring his efforts to help him. Then "he gave me a song to make me happy and told me to sing it whenever I felt sad." [It is in Michahai.]

W
Y
[539]

hunai ´'awi·[184] [repeat 3 times]

ta´wapun pa·´na· [repeat 3 times]
all right my world

hi´am na mum taw:´nǐi
now I am sorry

hunu´mǐu na
to be too weak to move from prolonged fasting I

hunai ´'awi· [repeat 3 times]

ta´wapun pa´'ana· [repeat 3 times]

S.O. woke up instantly and began singing the song lest he "lose it." His friend awoke asking what was the matter. But S.O. continued to sing; he ate no breakfast and later he went out to talk to Night in solitude. He said: "Give me well-being, Night." [ɬniša man wa·ni´i´nwa toiyo ni; ɬnsiš is "good," prosperity, satisfaction; perhaps "blessing" would best fit in the phrase. Any other name, Water, Cougar, etc., could be substituted in this phrase, which was standardized.)

S.O.'s friend said nothing about his behavior; he understood. Thereafter S.O. was happy and he sang the song whenever he began to feel depressed.

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4. Not all dreams were accepted, since a dreamer might not want the type of power proffered. As an example of this S.O. related the following. He dreamed it some years ago; he said it was a common type, that he had dreamed it more than once and that many other people had experienced it.

He dreamed he was walking along somewhere off in the hills. He sat down on a rock. Immediately it began to grow. It kept rising until he "was about fifty feet up in the air." He wondered how he was going to get down. He looked all around, and was afraid to move for fear of falling off. Finally he discovered that a live oak tree was growing right beside the rock. So he climbed into it and made his way down. As soon as he reached the ground the rock shrank to normal size.

Although S.O. did not want to use this dream, he addressed it as a matter of respect.

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[184] S.O. could not translate this word, saying "it just meant 'let me go' or 'don't trouble about me,'" which does not seem at all applicable. He said the word was always repeated three times in a reciprocal greeting between dreamer and dream helper.

W Y 787 "I just said, 'As long as I live I will see you, Rock. I see you all the time.'"[185]

778 To accept a dream of this type, i.e., getting down safely off a height, would give the dreamer power to do this in real life. S.O. explained his rejection of this by his blindness which did not permit him "to go around any places like that."

W Y 756 778 787 5. It was not considered wise or in good taste to boast of one's supernatural power, but particularly was it a matter of caution not to let a shaman suspect one of having a competitive amount of tapni. "People never told what they dreamed or what their talisman was except to their most trusted friends." If one person said to another, "You have lots of power," the person addressed replied in kind, "It is you who have lots of power," as the perception of power in another was thought to indicate the possession of power by the perceiver. Since shamans, of course, had this power (of perception) it was thought to be difficult to keep them from knowing about one's private abilities. Apropos of this, S.O. told the following dream experience and its aftermath.

Once he dreamed that he was over at Watoki Dam and saw a bright green rattlesnake swimming towards him across the water. As it was the fall of the year (hibernation period), he was greatly puzzled, especially by its verdant aspect. He told no one.

The very next day Senai'ja, a shaman, came. He knew beforehand that S.O. had seen the snake, and the following conversation ensued.

Shaman: What did you see last night ?
S.O. (being wary): Yes, I saw something.
Shaman: You saw something close to you last night ?
S.O.: Yes, I saw a rattlesnake.
Shaman: That's just what I mean.

Bystanders wondered what this conversation was about but recognized that the shaman had some supernatural apperception. Then Senaija told S.O. that the reason he saw the snake was "because he had been following the old ways" (i.e., dreaming, praying, sun-basking, etc). He said he (Senaija) knew all about it. S.O. "just laughed but he was mad inside." He was chagrined because he was following the old ways and did not wish it to be known.

(That the shaman's perspicacity was verbal pretense did not appear to S.O. If so intelligent a person as S.O. was blind to the verbal trickery involved, the delusions perpetrated by "mean" shamans on dull people must have been facile indeed.)

Flying Power

W Y 791 789 A special type of power, that of jumping or "flying" through space for a considerable

[185] Another standardized phrase for addressing anything supernatural: ama'mao pa''anao na mum ia''ika (whole, or round-of-the-year, every place I you see).

[P. 244 a] Western Mono N: 25

W Y 613 825 saw what he thought was a dog coming along the trail, but it proved to be a coyote. Immediately after, they met Pušl:l:n and Ko'o (both Chukaimina shamans) and a third man. As they came up, Pušl:l:n said, "Did you see my poša ?" "Yes," said S.O. And Pušl:l:n replied, "He always goes with me at night. I make him do that by dreaming of him every night."

W Y 778 The talisman in most common use by Michahai people with supernatural power was the eagle-down cord (pisesan). This was somewhat comparable to the loose eagle down used by the Wukchumni and other Yokuts. The one belonging to S.O. is illustrated (fig. 2). He freely offered it to me to examine and often sat with it in his hands while talking. He stated definitely that it had been made for him by D., a Michahai woman who was also my informant. She, however, as firmly denied having done so when questioned about it. The misunderstanding may be mine.

Waksachi Shamanism

W Y 756 The following very general information on shamanism was given by B.O.

A man who was a doctor (poha'g:) might get his power from "most anything." When he cured, he wore the Yokuts-type feather headdress of crow and magpie feathers. Sucking and rubbing with eagle down were the only curing techniques. [237]

There were no women doctors among the Waksachi, nor were there any specialists. A doctor who cured snake bites was called tu'u'dem (Yokuts word), but he gave no dancing performance or Snake Ritual like his Yokuts analogue.

W Y 764 The burial of a shaman was like that for an ordinary person.

W Y 756 683 The killing of evil shamans was thought justifiable. There was no special person for this duty. Men who wanted to kill a shaman would go to their chief for advice and consent, then do the deed themselves. While the death of the shaman himself was condoned, it was not permissible to injure any member of his family. For their part, the shaman's relatives never retaliated, under normal circumstances. If a doctor, so murdered, had several horses, they would be divided among the killers; other property was disposed of by his relatives as in an ordinary death.

B.O. related one anecdote of a shaman's death.

W Y 765 683 A mourning ceremony was being given by the Yokod at their village [near the present site of Yokohl]. B.O. and his brother George, who were renowned hunters, were asked to come and bring some deer. They went, stopping at Rancheria Flat over night, and en route killed six deer. They reached Yokohl on Thursday, well in advance of the final ritual on Saturday night.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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used as if a synonym, seems to have been the name of an individual of unusual repute in these matters who lived at or near Tejon about two generations ago. Perhaps his appellation too was at bottom a generic one.

The *ohowich*, the "willing" or "seeking" doctor, has already been mentioned. The bear doctor is called simply "grizzly bear," *noho'o* or *ngoho'o*, according to dialect.

MANA.

Supernatural power, beings, or things are called by all the Yokuts *tipni* or *chipni:* a word from which Tachi *tuponot* is probably derived by one of the vowel mutations characteristic of the language. The word *tipni* itself is likely to be connected with *tipin*, "above," in a spatial sense, or "top, high, sky, up." It is the obvious equivalent of *mana*, *orenda*, *wakanda*, and *manitou*. In some usages the term clearly refers to beings, monsters, or spirits. In other connections it is said that a man, say a shaman, is *tipni* or possibly that he has *tipni*. In the above prayer to the seven gods, the word seems to mean "with supernatural power"; but a translation by "supernatural ones" is also possible. Altogether, it is clear that *tipni* is used indifferently as a noun and as an adjective; and that it is employed, according to circumstance, to denote spirits, supernatural or monstrous beings of any sort, men who possess spiritual or magical power, and, if indications are not deceiving the essence or power or quality itself.

This diversity of usage seems to be as characteristic of the more familiar synonyms in other languages as of Yokuts *tipni;* and it follows, therefore, that the question of whether these words denote rather an essence or a definite personalized spirit in the literal sense is not a problem to be settled by psychological interpretation, but one for which the tools and knowledge of the philologist are indispensable, and that the latter's answer is likely to be that the terms are used with both meanings and adjectively as well as substantively; with reference on one occasion to quality, on others, to personality. There must have been a time when our own word "spirit" was capable of denoting in one sentence the breath itself, the physical flow of air from the lungs, and in the next an immaterial thing resembling the entire body of a man but possessed of faculties that do not belong to the body. Just so, to-day and among ourselves, "spirit" at times indubitably denotes such an anthropomorphic but intangible personality, and nothing else; at others, an abstract and impersonal essence or quality or force. It would be rash to maintain that its real meaning in our minds and in our civilization was only one of these two aspects and that when used in the other sense

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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it was so used as a conscious metaphor or from deliberate desire to present as personal something known to be impersonal, or as general something known to be specifically limited. It is just as strained, or more so, to force this alternative on the less developed and simpler terminology of uncivilized people. 778

The choice that has been made between the understanding of *mana*, *orenda*, or *manitou* as denotive of an essence, or of a particularized ghostlike personality, has done violence to a distinctive quality of the concepts residing in these words, namely, their undifferentiated poise between our two extreme formulations. A native who has learned the significance of our phrases "essence," "pervading quality," "intangible diffused power," will of his own accord give these definitions for his own concept; but at other times he will as blithely render it by "spirit" in the sense of something limited, personal, and spatial.

With the Chukchansi, *benitĭ* means clairvoyant, and among the Yauelmani *suhua* denotes the faculty of magical creation out of nothing by means of blowing. 778 192

A ghost is *hichwaiu* or *hitwaia* to the Yokuts. The soul is called *ilit* by the Tachi. The word for heart, *honhon* or *honghong*, is not used in this sense.

There is bare possibility that shamanism, the individual relation of persons to what is *tipni*, is distantly related to the totemic observances and beliefs of the Yokuts, but specific evidences of direct connections are rare. One of the few is the coincidence that both the "pet" or captive or totemic animal, and the doctor's guardian spirit from whom his *tipni* power emanates, are called *puus* or *cheshesh*, "dog"; *cheshesh nim ngohoo*, "my dog is the grizzly bear," a Yaudanchi bear shaman says. But again, poverty of vocabulary can not be relied upon to prove a common growth of institutions. 778 756 825

SOURCE OF THE SHAMAN'S POWER.

The northern California idea of shamanistic power is bound up with the notion of control over small, animate, disease-bearing objects, these material "pains" having many of the faculties of spirits. This special form of the nearly universal concept that sickness is produced by an injected substance is not even in rudiment a part of the San Joaquin Valley culture. The Yokuts shaman owns a spirit. This may be a monster, or an animal that turns into a man, or possibly a permanently disembodied spirit. It is certainly most often one of the two former. It may be met in actuality, or dreamed of, or both. But it is a being, with an independent existence, and with a defined relation between it and the medicine man; not a little noxious thing, a sort of animated fetish or amulet, that he swallows and keeps inside his body. 756 776

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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Shamanistic power among the Yokuts comes both unsought and to men desirous of acquiring it. It is most commonly derived from animals or monsters inhabiting the water, or from their appearances in dreams after their haunts have been frequented; but visits by dead relatives, which are so frequent a stimulus among the northern California tribes, are also mentioned as a source of the conferment. The bear doctor, of course, has bears as his spirit; the rattlesnake shaman, the sun, as with the Yuki. The rain doctor alone has his power associated more directly with an amulet than with any spirit.

The prospective Tachi doctor bathes nightly for a winter in pools, springs, or water holes, until the inhabiting being meets and instructs him, or comes to him in his sleep. In one such hole lives a six-mouthed rattlesnake; in another, a white water snake; in a third, a hawk which can occasionally be seen flying into or out of its home below the surface. A Yaudanchi, with two boy companions, caught a *wetapkul*, a long, large-eyed fish, which makes doctors by swallowing them. At once a great whirlwind circled, the trees broke, the water rose, and the three persons fled for their lives. That night in his sleep the monster came to the young man and gave him this song:

Whose is this fish to shoot?
Your hand feathers are panting!

The hand feathers are the *wacham* dance ornament used by doctors; they seem to symbolize the moving gills of the water monster.

Another southern Yokuts at dusk met two strangers, who took him with them into the stream, through two doors, one formed of a snake, one of a turtle. He had become unconscious. Inside their house the otters, for such they had become, resumed human shape. They offered *tipni* power to their guest, with the threat that he could not live if he refused. He took the gift, but asked for instructions concerning it. "You shall cure the sick, not kill human beings," was the naïve order he received with his song. When the man awoke he was on land once more, and dry as if he had never left the earth. This is his song:

The other says: Run in the brush;
Run in the brush, I hear continually.

Two instances of the genesis of bear doctors:

A Yaudanchi hunter was taken by a grizzly into its hidden house inside the rock, where it drew off its skin and became human. Others joined the circle, and a dance began. Suddenly a dog barked and the dance stopped. The man remained with his hosts several days.

A Tachi bathed at night. At last a bear appeared in his dreams and instructed him. After many years, not before middle life, he reached the power of becoming a bear at will. He swam in a pool, emerged as the animal, and

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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went on his errand. To resume human shape a plunge into the same pool was necessary.

The long period of training before full power is attained seems characteristic for Yokuts bear shamans, as for Yuki.

A bear doctor's song:

Again he comes,
Again the grizzly bear comes to me.

A shaman named Mayemai dreamed that his father sang to him:

Listen to me,
Mayemai!
There in the east
I shall emerge
Twirling
My hand feathers.

An eagle dance song, originally dreamed:

The earth quakes.
See my eagle
Emerging at the open place!

Coyote songs, dreamed, and perhaps also of moiety totemic reference:

Whirling in front of you,
It is mourned for,
The rope of our world

I am coyote,
We are coyotes.
The earth told them,
The earth said:
You shall not continually scratch me.

Coyote said:
What am I?
I am coyote.
I am of the water.
What am I?
I am coyote.

The frankness of these songs in allusions to the supernatural experience and mention of the guardian, and that in words which are far less altered to fit the rhythm than is customary in California, is remarkable.

The doctor's initiation dance of northern California has not been referred to among the Yokuts and seems not to have been practiced.

DISEASE AND CURE.

Three principal methods of curing disease are followed, besides the administration of herbs and parts of animals. Sucking the disease object, a pebble or bit of something, is universal. This is linked

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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WEATHER SHAMANS.

756 789 The weather doctor chiefly brought on rain, perhaps when it was needed, more often, it appears, like Samuel before the people, to prove his power. Again the national inclination toward public recognition of shamanistic displays is manifest. The famous Hopodno at Tejon, who was half Yauelmani and half Shoshonean Kawaiisu, staked the rain in a game, and when he lost promptly delivered it to the winners.

[778] The Chukchansi mention only blowing and the dipping of fingers into water as means of making rain; but the Tachi and southern tribes describe cylindrical stones, 6 to 8 inches long, pointed at one end, as the necessary apparatus. Moistened or dipped a little into water, the amulet produced a shower; but if the doctor was angered, he plunged the whole stone in and a violent storm followed. These objects, which suggest the well-known "charm stones" of the California archaeologist, but were probably a distinct though similar [428] type, were inherited from father to son; and the Tachi go so far as to say that the theft of his amulet would deprive the owner of his power. Spirits are nowhere mentioned directly in connection with the rain-making faculty.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Mortars in the outcropping granite rocks by the San Joaquin River at the edge of the old Dumna (Doom'-nah) village of F-uh-pin. Here the Indian women pounded the acorns which they later made into bread, soup and mush.

[252]

above Friant. White people in that locality call this hill The Pincushion. At the bottom of Lake Millerton and south of the old San Joaquin River channel was the Dumna head village of *Kuyu Illik*. North of the river and below Friant Dam about five miles was the Dumna village of *Iuhpin*. In the bluff above Iuhpin is a cave which the Dumna said had supernatural power and which they called *Ihlip*.

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Between the Kings and San Joaquin Rivers, ranging from the upper foothills down onto the San Joaquin Plains, were the *Gashowu*. The names of two Gashowu villages have been preserved. About two miles above the junction of the Dry Creek and Auburn roads, at an old spring where there are now some fig trees growing, was the village of *Shoko*. On Big Dry Creek,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

lower, or down stream limits of the village. It is explained that this was done in order that the bathing would not disturb the water of the stream which was used by the inhabitants of the village.

In many instances the *Winatun*, or messenger for the Headman, or Chief, lived near the sweat house. It was his business to meet strangers, or visitors, and escort them to the chief. A second Winatun lived on the main trail at the up-stream limits of the village. It is probable that the lower Winatun occupied the sweat house when he happened to be a man without a family. Women never entered the Yokuts sweat house.

It was due to the practice of sweating that measles and smallpox, as well as other fevers, took such heavy toll of the Indians not only in the San Joaquin Valley, but throughout the western United States. Fevers were apparently unknown to them. Their ordinary ailments were principally rheumatism and other infirmities due to cold and exposure. Pioneer settlers of the San Joaquin Valley have repeatedly described the death within a few weeks of almost entire tribes of Indians due to measles, or smallpox, when treated in the sweat house.

The sweat house was held in high esteem by all Indians. Why this should be the case has aroused the curiosity of many persons. When one considers the most important use to which it was put, this attitude on the part of the Indians is not strange. Most Indian hunting was done by stalking. Deer and other animals were killed with bow and arrow, often at a distance of less than forty feet. White deer hunters will appreciate the difficulty of approaching this close to a deer, even should the hunter be disguised by a deer head and horns and covered with a deer skin. It is readily appreciated that often at the distance of several hundred yards the deer will scent a hunter and take flight. The Indian also knew this. For this reason he was very careful about two or three things. His hunting equipment was always hung up where it would not be touched except when he was hunting. In this way it carried no scent.

Before going hunting the Indian entered the sweat house and bathed in the river. Taking his weapons, he proceeded to the game country with the knowledge that, for at least five or six hours, deer and other game would not be able to distinguish his scent. As this gave the sweat house a very practical and vital use, it is not strange that the Indians almost universally came to regard it as sacred.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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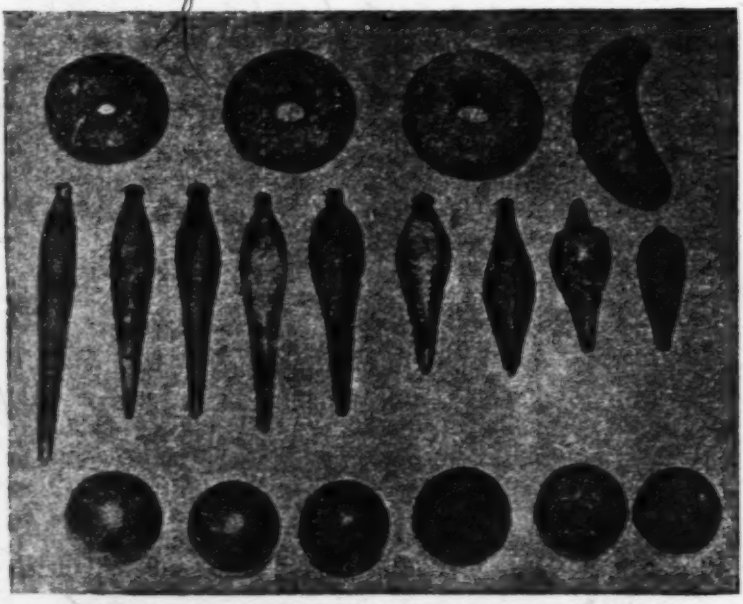

Top left are three perforated stones used in ceremonials and as game stones. At right is a crescent shaped stone, reported as having been used in a girls' adolescence ceremony. Center are charm stones. The one at the extreme right was found near Mountain View, Santa Clara County. The eight stones at the left were found in a "nest" at the Harris mound, six miles west of Tulare. Bottom row shows six stone footballs, found buried together under an oak tree on Kings River Island near Laton.

diameter and had a hole in the center about an inch in diameter.

"This game was played principally by the young men. It was a much quieter game than the disc game, but was scored in the same way. They shot wooden pointed arrows at the stone as it passed by.

[412] "This same stone was used to straighten their arrows and their shafts for gigging fish."

MISCELLANEOUS GAMES

361 526 In addition to the statement made by Mayfield concerning the Indian game courts, we are assured by other pioneers who lived near the Indians during the early settlement of the San Joaquin Valley, as well as by old Indians themselves, that

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

THE RAINMAKING CEREMONY

789 791 Few San Joaquin Valley grain farmers, who have paid white rainmakers to produce rain for their withering crops, know that rainmaking was a well established profession long before grain crops were planted in the San Joaquin. But such was the case, for there are numerous data recording that the business of rainmaking had become a profession among the Yokuts tribes. These data extend from one end of the San Joaquin Valley to the other, and also into the northern portion of Santa Clara County around the present towns of Mayfield and Mountain View, which is generally held to be a part of primeval Yokuts territory. This work has been carried on down to date. Not many years ago, a prominent *Tachi* Yokuts rain doctor passed away at Santa Rosa Rancheria, south of Lemoore. His Tachi name was *Si'-nel,* but he was known to surrounding white settlers as Indian Bob, the Rain Dancer. [764] While this manuscript was being completed, Clarence Atwell, the last of these Yokuts doctors, died at the same rancheria, his dance costume being buried with him.

Because of the continued scarcity of water in the territory that was once Yokuts and the great efforts being made to provide more of it, the Rainmaking Ceremony is of more interest to present San Joaquin Valley residents than anything else concerning the Yokuts.

[292 302] Dressed in his feather skirt and headdress, his body painted dead black and striped with bright white, the Yokuts rainmaker surely was a weird figure. He danced in the night about a fire and sang his magic song. In this he was aided by *Ahanich,* paid singers, and was assisted by other rain-desiring tribesmen.

789 648 To the surrounding white settlers of the 1860's, whose drying crops needed rain more than did the Tachi, the Rain Doctor appeared only as a dangerous Indian Chief, inciting his people to attack the whites. From John Ezra, of Kings River Island, near Laton, I learned that it was because of this fear on the part of the whites that the Tachi for a long time gave up their rain dances.

789 778 Connected with the rain making ceremony was a magic stone, which, when properly invoked by song and dance, could produce anything from a sprinkle to a cloudburst. It could bring luck in fishing and could bring water into dry stream-channels. A photograph, reproduced in this volume, shows

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

these magic stones to vary much in size and proportions, but to be all of the same general shape. They are often referred to as plummets, or plumb-bobs, and are commonly known to collectors as charm-stones.

Charm-stones have been found throughout Yokuts territory. Along streams and about the shores of valley lakes they have been discovered in great numbers. Away from the old bodies of water they have occasionally been brought to the surface by plowing. When the waters of Tulare Lake began to recede during the late 1880's and early 1890's these stones were found by hundreds along the lower shores. Dr. Ed. Smith of Hanford made a large collection of them along those shorelines and in the lowest portion of the dry lake bed. He once told me that during one week-end, traveling with horse and buggy, he gathered one hundred and eighty-four Yokuts Rainmakers' charm stones.

Pioneer San Joaquin Valley residents have furnished numerous parallel data, stating that these stones were used to bring fish up the streams and to bring success in fishing. A few have stated that they were also used in connection with a rainmaking ceremony. Zachary T. Blankenship, of Visalia, once told me that they were used to bring water into streams during drought, and to induce the large trout of Tulare Lake to migrate up the various branches of the lower Kaweah River. Said "Zac", "Soon after it left the Sierra foothills the Kaweah River divided into six branches—Outside Creek, Deep Creek, Cameron Creek, Packwood Creek, Mill Creek and St. John's River, which, in its lower course, is known as Cross Creek. Sometimes the heads of some of these creeks would choke with sand and brush so that the water could not run down them. Then the Indian Medicine Men had to get busy with their plumb-bobs and put on a song and dance calculated to bring the water back.

"Each year the large lake trout would run up some of the Kaweah Creeks, but they did not always run up all of them. This cut some of the Indian camps out of their fishing. They hung those plumb-bobs on the willow trees in order to make the fish come up to them. I never saw this done, but I know it to be true, for I was told about it by an old Indian who lived on Outside Creek. I found one of those plumb-bob stones hanging on a tree. It took my fancy. There was no one in sight, so I cut it loose, put it in my pocket and took it home. We had sev-

[text continues on p. 204]

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eral Indians working on the ranch as vaqueros. One of them saw the stone when I showed it to the other vaqueros. He told the man who had hung it out what I had done and the next day the owner came to me for it. Our vaquero explained to me that it was *tripne* (supernatural) and why it had been hung in the tree."

The above account was verified by Frank Bequette, another early resident of the same locality, and by numerous other settlers around Tulare, Kern, Buena Vista, Goose and Summit Lakes, as well as the streams which flowed into those bodies of water. But there was little or no printed reference to Yokuts charm-stones. There seemed to be more mystery than information about them.

About 1930 I first interviewed Mrs. Josie Alonzo, of Hanford. Her Indian name was *Yoimut* and she was the last full-blood survivor of the *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) tribe of Yokuts. Yoimut knew much about the Yokuts Rainmaker's charm-stones. Below is a portion of the information she furnished about them.

"I had an uncle named *Teh-nih'-pahs*. He was a real old Indian with long hair with beads in it. He was a *Wowol* (Wo'-wol). I learned his song that went with the *unuk*. He put a little water on the unuk before he sang to make it rain. If he dipped it in the water and then sang and danced, he could bring a flood. He was Tripne. If he had real bad luck he would throw his unuk in the lake, maybe off of boat, maybe from shore.

"The unuk was a long pretty stone. It was round and smooth and had a little head at one end. This is the song he sang with his dance while he held the unuk in one hand:

Toke'-un lih'-nuh	*Wa-tin-hin*	*nah*	*Yo'*
(west side)	(straight path)	(me)	(to mark time)
Hi-yo-um'-ne	*Ah-he*	*oo-nook*	*mi-uh'-wah*
(Wo-wol village)	(this is I)	(charm stone)	(over you)

"He sang this song over and over as he danced. West Side was the name of the song. It meant 'I, the charm stone, am over you, showing you the straight path to Hiyoumne, the old Wowol village'. It had a very pretty tune.

"Lots of Indian Doctors tried to learn this song. They wanted to be Tripne Rain Doctors. They tried to sing it, but never learned it right. I heard them sing lots of times, but I

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never sang my song for them. They were only *Ahntru*. They wanted to be Tripne.

"An old *Nutunutu* (Noo-too'-noo-too) Rain Doctor at Kingston knew my song right. I heard him sing lots of times. His name was *Ne'-mah-pah*. He died long time ago."

But after all of the above data had been gathered, there was still much mystery attached to the plummet shaped Yokuts charms. At two points in Tulare County, and one in Merced County "nests" of these charms had been uncovered during the process of leveling land. One of these was near an old, disused channel of Cameron Creek, at the Harris mound, one-half mile north of Paige, west of Tulare. Another was on an old, disused course or slough of Cross Creek, still further west of Tulare. The third was on a blind branch of Santa Rita slough, due east of Los Baños. The general details of all three finds were much the same. The stones had been found buried in a small circle. The charms from the Harris mound, I obtained from Mr. Harris, also his first hand account of their discovery.

While this manuscript was being prepared for the printer I received word that a fourth nest of nine charm-stones had been uncovered about fifteen miles west of Bakersfield near the center of Section 15, T29S, R25E. I was able to secure these stones and to hear from the discoverer what position they had occupied in the ground. A mound was being leveled. At first it was thought to be a sand dune, as, in common with several others nearby, it appeared to be composed of fine wind-blown silt.

This mound was beside an old channel of Kern River, which was filled to a depth of three feet with fine silt. This channel can be traced for several miles in the direction of Bakersfield, and in the opposite direction, toward Goose Lake. It has carried no water within historic times. The silt from the mound was scraped into the old channel and the whole area prepared for planting cotton.

No artifacts of any kind were found; in fact, nothing but clean silt was encountered, until a depth of about six feet had been reached. At that depth an old camp site was uncovered. Charcoal, ashes, and soot-covered, heat-shattered rocks were scooped up by the carryalls, which were drawn by Caterpillar tractors. A number of fine, thin-walled, steatite cooking vessels were broken up by the equipment. A metate and mano and several mortars and pestles were uncovered.

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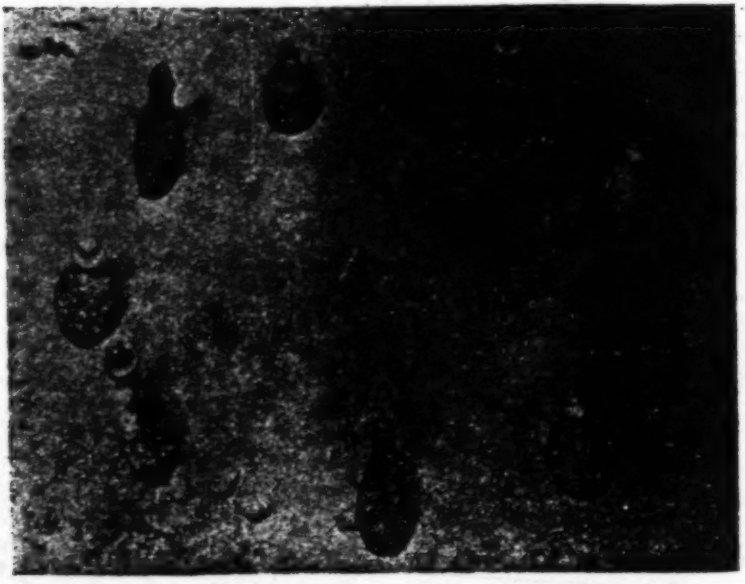

Nine charm stones, replaced in the soil as they were found in an Indian mound-campsite about two miles southwest of Rio Bravo school in Kern County. They were uncovered by Mr. Rudolph Cantrell while leveling land in April of 1948.

Finally, at a depth of about eight feet, a carryall, operated by Mr. Rudolph Cantrell, scraped off the top of a finely polished stone. Investigation brought to light seven finely made serpentine charm stones and two made of fine-grained banded stone. They stood with their points down and were arranged in the form of a circle about sixteen inches in diameter.

While an account of the above find was being added to this chapter, I became acquainted with a person who has probably had more experience than anyone else in uncovering charm, or rainmaker's, ceremonial-stones. He is Mr. A. L. Threewit, of Buttonwillow. Mr. Threewit has leveled many hundreds of acres of land in the vicinity of Buena Vista slough. In this work he has uncovered no less than six clusters of charm-stones.

He has uncovered numerous other deposits of these stones, but they were disturbed by earth-moving equipment before he saw them, so he could not be certain of the exact position in

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which they had been buried. He has also uncovered dozens of single stones. In 1946, on the Crawford Ranch, about eighteen miles north of Buttonwillow (Section 21, T27S, R22E) he uncovered a cluster of about ten charm stones. As the situation under which they were found was almost identical with the others, Mr. Threewit's description of their position will suffice for all.

"In the fall of 1946 I was leveling a piece of land for Mr. Clinton B. Crawford. On it was an old abandoned slough channel with a large mound beside it. The top of the mound was at least ten feet above the bottom of the slough. The mound was composed of hard, alkali-saturated soil. The old slough channel was about one-fourth mile east of the main channel of Buena Vista Slough, which had been deepened into a drainage canal.

"At the depth of about one and one-half feet below the surface of the mound my scraper uncovered a cluster of plumb-bob shaped stones. They were standing on end and were arranged in a circle about a foot and a half in diameter. Inside this circle were three rocks showing signs of fire. The three rocks were lying in a bed of ashes and charcoal. The plumb-bob shaped stones did not appear to have been burned. The fire had been kindled in the middle of the circle formed by them.

"I have uncovered at least six clusters of these plumb-bob shaped stones, all buried at about the same depth, and all in the same position as the one I have described. I have picked up many other groups of them but did not see them until they were in the scraper. Together with the scattered ones, I have uncovered many dozens of these plumb-bob shaped stones in the area between Tupman and Lost Hills. They have always been uncovered in knolls beside old, dry water courses. In at least one instance a cluster of them was found beside a human skeleton."

Although I have heard numerous other stories of the finding of nests of charm stones at other points in Yokuts territory, accounts concerning the ten mentioned above are all that I have been able to substantiate satisfactorily. Then, about two months after the find west of Bakersfield, while interviewing Mrs. Mable Stricklett of Santa Cruz, I made the most important find of all.

In 1894, Mrs. Mary J. Gates, mother of Mrs. Stricklett, had published verification of all I had gathered, as well as the

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key to the nest burials of charm-stones. This appeared in a pamphlet titled, *Contributions to Local History*, and gives the history of the territory surrounding Mountain View, in northern Santa Clara County. Here is her account:

"The most interesting specimens of rude aboriginal art are charm or sorcery stones. Ray Dexter has one with the polish worn off that he found in the slough, and Frank Francis has another and highly polished one of a fine-grained, hard stone that was found on the Rev. Mr. Crittenden's ranch. Many charm stones are reported from Mr. Summer's ranch. These stones are of various shapes and sizes. The purpose for which they were used, at what time, it seems not easy to make out. But our comparatively recent Indians finding these stones attributed to them magical powers.

"No less than six theories have been advanced with regard to their use. They have been found in too many forms for games; too heavy for personal adornment; as plummets they would have been of no use to a people who lived in huts, or no shelter whatever; sinkers they need not be, when many stones in the creek would answer fully as well; the small knob on the end of nearly all of them caused them to be of less service than the common pestle; and the investigators came to the conclusion they were used for religious purposes, and in this way they found they were correct, as a few old Indians confirmed this idea.

"The Indian medicine man used to collect twelve or maybe twenty charm stones and arrange them in the form of a circle, with another very different stone in the center, and over these he sprinkled the seed of the wild sage, feathers and red ochre, when war, sickness, drought or famine came to the tribe. He would next thrust the stones violently together, all the time muttering his incantations - - - - - .

"These charm stones were also suspended by a string over the water where they were fishing, hung from trees to call the fish up the streams, and at points in the mountains favorable for hunting."

It would almost seem that Mary J. Gates had actually interviewed Mr. Zachary T. Blankenship, quoted above. And does her article not explain why our San Joaquin Valley charm-stones were buried in nests? Were not all ten burials described above located on streams that had changed their channels? Can

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the reader not see what happened one morning during the spring freshet many years ago?

The swollen stream suddenly broke from its old course upstream and cut a new channel in a different direction. At the Yokuts village the morning sun rose on a river channel devoid of water. The entire village was aroused. Their world had fallen about them. All medicine men were assembled and implored to bring the water back into the old channel. All charm-stones were gathered. The ceremony described by Mary J. Gates was performed by the inhabitants of an entire village who, if the stream failed to flow again, must in a few hours begin a march to the new channel. Although the singing and dancing went on throughout the day and night, no water came. So the stones were buried as an offering to the Tripne powers, and the migration was begun.

Incidentally, the publication written by Mary J. Gates and overlooked for more than fifty years, is one of the most substantial data available extending the range of northern Yokuts tribes into the Santa Clara Valley and toward the coast, where some authorities have long placed them.

From the depth at which this old village on Section 15 was buried it may be thought that the site was abandoned centuries ago. This may have been the case, but not necessarily. In recent years one ten-hour dust storm has been known to build mounds higher than the one which had accumulated above the old village site.

THE RATTLESNAKE DANCE

Students of the Yokuts Indians are surprised to learn that those simple, jolly people had developed a rattlesnake dance. Little is known as to whether or not this dance was performed on the west side of the San Joaquin Valley. *Yoimut,* last surviving full-blood *Chunut* Yokuts, stated that members of the T*ulamni* tribe took part in a rattlesnake dance held in Tejon Canyon about 1865. It is possible that they had always attended the dances in Tejon Canyon.

From Tejon Canyon as far north as the San Joaquin River the Rattlesnake Dance was performed by Yokuts tribes until historic times. Aged Yokuts have related stories about such dances held at Dunlap, Squaw Valley, Drumm Valley, Kings River, Eshom Valley, Antelope Valley, Lemon Cove, Tule River, Deer Creek, Poso Creek, Kern River, and Tejon

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The Chunut doctors had a Tripne (magic) stone. It was just like a doughnut. They called it *Cuhmumwum Weah* (Cuh-moom'-wum We'-ah), the thunder and lightning stone. I used to know its song, but I have forgotten it. My old uncle, *Tehnih'-pahs,* taught it to me. I think once all the Indians around Tulare Lake had these songs. They used the Cuhmumwum Weah to make thunder and lightning and to make whirlwinds and cool breezes. I saw my uncle make whirlwinds once with this stone.

The doctors had another stone. Even the Ahntru Doctors knew how to use it to doctor people. But the Tripne Doctors could do lots more things with it. It was a long stone with a hole through the middle. The *Chunut* called it *Ta'-khot-un Tis-a'-he.*

The doctor put the hollow stone over the place where the person was hurting and sucked on the other end. He took the pain out that way. Sometimes he took out an arrow point, rattlesnake rattles, or lizard tail. Then the sick person got well. I saw them do that.

Almost all the doctors were men. Once a man and his wife were both Tripne doctors. Finally they went out of sight in the middle of the day. This was at *Chaw-lo'-win,* the old *Wowol* village where Alpaugh is now. They lived there on the sand ridge for many years, but the people could never see them. They saw tracks in the sand and saw where the doctors had dug tule roots, but they could never see the Tripne man and wife. They could see the smoke from their fires. They also found pieces of abalone shell in the sand at their camps. They brought the first abalone shell to Tulare Lake. My old uncle told me all about this. He was a Wowol.

Tumnah (Toom'-nah) was a real old Tachi when I was a little girl. We thought he was more than one hundred years old. He was a young man before the Spanish people came to Tulare Lake after the Indians. He used to tell me about how the Spanish came and took the Indians away from *Tokuh Lihnuh,* the West Side.

Once Tumnah told me about two bad Indian doctors. He had helped kill one of them who lived at the old *Nutunutu* village at Kingston. These doctors had killed some *Tachi* people. They would change themselves into coyotes and go sneaking around after the Tachi and making them sick. They would

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
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101 133 439 823 the Yokuts (e. g., Salinan, Chumash), while collectively unknown eastern groups were called mountaineers (do´mtui). The north and south dimensions of the valley are greater, and tribal contacts in the floor of the valley were so aligned along the water flow between Kern, Buena Vista, Tulare Lakes, and the lower San Joaquin River.

823 [778] Of the two other directions, up (ṭi´pin; sky, above) and down (ati´l), the latter had no special significance beyond myth reference to an underground gambler whose home might be reached via a badger or gopher hole.[20] Upward, "aboveness," was of great religious significance, the embodiment of sacredness and supernatural power. Veneration was manifest in many ways, especially in a religious-motivated looking upwards, looking at the stars and sun with prayerful phrases on the lips, basking in the sun, getting magic "airshot" from the sun during shamanistic contests. Supernatural power was called ṭi´pni; it was the essence of all "aboveness" and the power derived therefrom, though the term might be applied to anything weird, holy, or peculiarly hyperphysical.

[824] To the earth itself (di´nit) there was no special attitude, nor to the plants growing on it save the narcotics tobacco (so´'og) and *Datura* (ta´ñai). For example, for all the essential uses earth was excavated without special concern—house, sweathouse, or grave pits, for pottery, colored earths for paint. Similarly ordinary stones were taken for implements, motars and pestles, though previously [778] shaped stones such as the "charmstones" of weather shaman, were regarded with awe, as ṭi´pni.

823 778 On the other hand, water (i´dik), especially that of springs, was venerated: "water is immortal because it is everywhere; it is living all the time." Springs were addressed prayerfully, sacred eagle down was scattered near them, and a [782] little water was sprinkled on oneself with a request for long life. Other expressions of this attitude are found in early morning bathing (more than a mere [515] cleansing act), and in myths, wherein submersion or application of water was the standard method of magical resuscitation.

821 [782] [777] The stars were not ignored; on the contrary, the Morning Star especially was of great importance: people should be up in time to see it, greet it with a prayerful request for "a good world" and longevity. The Pleiades gave luck to gamblers; other stars were dangerous lures to men. Eclipses of moon or sun were hailed with shouts of discouragement, and excessive thunder was admonished to cease. In short, even heavenly bodies were part of the immediate, reachable environment.

805 Aspects of time, of the place of animals and of man in the world were em-

20 There was no concept of stratified worlds, or of previous and successive worlds.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
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cases moderately strengthened by reverential observances such as abstinence from its flesh (compulsory for a totemite), propitiation by prayer and eagle-down offerings, dream contact, and possession of a sacred symbolic talisman. In most highly developed form for shamanistic or power quests, these behaviors became a personal preoccupation essential to the maintenance of a beneficent attitude on the part of the animal tutelary.

The reverence for Eagle, Falcon, Cougar, Bear, Coyote (and lesser creatures in lesser ways) was actualized in ceremonies performed over their carcasses by persons of those lineages they symbolized, and witnessed by the usual audience of interested and, in part, participating villagers. The hunters of deer had to observe care in handling their kill. The underlying motive of these acts was that animals who were not "treated right" on this earth, at death reported to their prehistoric counterparts in their eastern home, and the offended creatures would no longer give their support (as either a subsistence or a power source) to the transgressor.

Although in theory it was the primordial animal in its vague eastern home which motivated its living counterpart, it was the latter with which the people were concerned. The reverential relation was a direct one, and in turn it was from the actual animal that help came. Many anecdotes from Yokuts and Mono describe how the tutelary suddenly appeared in a moment of need, though the mechanism of help, beyond a mere appearance, is left undefined—presumably it was "power" (ti·pni) that forced success.

The personal-and-animal association was formalized socially in professional shamanism and politically in the official capacities of chief, messenger, and dance manager—cultural elaborations which have been described elsewhere. And the informal culture of Yokuts and Western Mono abounded in minor, casual usages and references to faunal life.

For the sake of rounding out the picture and not emphasizing exclusively the aspect of culture with which we are concerned, a brief note should be made of Yokuts rituals which were not related explicitly to the extra-personal world. Brief is sufficient, for there was only one set of rituals, that for "life crises," which were not engaged with or dependent upon some seasonal condition in nature. These were the naming of an infant, the mother's cleansing rite, girl's puberty (betrothal) rite,[21] and the private mourning ceremony. With the exception of the naming ceremony all were ritual cleansing ceremonies following the

21 A formal marriage by gift exchange might occur after the betrothal at first menses, but the two rites were not clearly separated by Yokuts and Western Mono; either or both might be made, but the second was not emphasized and seldom followed the first.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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595 622 While polygamy occurred among Yokuts and Western Mono it was not frequent. The chief was more likely than other men to have two wives. This was partly because of his wealth which permitted him to pay for and support them, and also because of the more numerous household duties in his menage. The chief's wives must have food [574] ready for immediate preparation at all times because of the hospitality extended to visitors in the tribe; they cared for the poor of their village, and at the same time entertained socially in a more lavish manner than other families.

556 622 [439] [778] In monetary wealth the chief always surpassed his fellow-citizens. The manner in which his worldly goods were acquired is not completely clear but there are several known sources. One of these was through commercial trading of desirable objects such as eagle down, and of articles traded with trans-Sierra Mono, or between local tribes. The commerce in eagle down was controlled by the chief as the bird was sacred to him and could not be killed without his permission. On this matter a Wukchumni (Y) informant gave the following:[25]

622 237 778 439 Only a chief could order an eagle killed. He paid the man who killed it three to five dollars for the bird. Some man or woman was then asked to prepare the bird; they were paid for their trouble. The large feathers were plucked off. The skin was removed with the down still on it. The leg bones were kept for making whistles. The meat was removed but only the fat saved for tallow salve. The feathers, down, leg bones, and tallow were kept by the chief, and these he sold to doctors or any other persons who wanted them for religious or ceremonial purposes. The carcass was given a special ritualistic burial, at which a mournful attitude prevailed.

622 237 556 [755] This trade in eagle products brought some profit to the chief. The demand for eagle down was constant as it was used by the majority of people for religious purposes such as scattering during prayer, and to make ropes of down which had power in curing sickness. Such ropes were used by non-professional persons who had supernatural power as well as by doctors.

622 439 556 Further profit came to the chief through intertribal commerce. Traders who came from other tribes with baskets, pottery, salt, tanned skins, etc., would first go to the chief's house to state their business, as was customary with all outsiders, and to receive the welcoming meal. Hence the chief had first chance to buy the wares they brought and retail them to his neighbors if he so wished. As a man of wealth

[25] Sam Garfield; see Appendix.

13:Riddell E-5 (1949) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

791 come from there. If the old man was Hopodno, however, he was half Yauelmani Yokuts and half Shoshonean Kawaiisu (Kroeber, 1924, p. 518), hence was not a Chumash.

791 The old weather shaman, according to José, had to leave Fort
[578] Tejón because of the jealousy he created when the Indian
648 Agent made him many gifts and praised him for bringing rain
789 one summer to the parched wheat crop. The Agent had heard of the old man's power and promised him that if he could bring rain and save the wheat crop the old man would be relieved of his duties of irrigating the wheat fields. The shaman was not so easily deceived, so agreed only when the Agent promised him a substantial quantity of goods. The shaman produced a hard rain that fell all night. The rain was so heavy that the Agent became somewhat alarmed and went to the old man and asked him to stop the rain. When the old man obliged, the grateful Agent gave him blankets, money, food, and other items of value. The preferential treatment by the
[578] Agent made the various Indian head-men at Fort Tejón quite jealous, so the rain shaman left the fort and made his home at Kernville.

791 A weather shaman, José explained, was able to control the
789 weather through fasting, by eating a certain amount of tobacco, and by isolating himself (inside his house, for example,) to concentrate on making it rain. Besides doing these things
[578] the shaman had a basket in which "rocks" and eagle-feathers were kept for use in bringing rain. The "rocks" probably were
798 charmstones (Kroeber, 1924, p. 518; Latta, 1949, pp. 200-
789 209), and the feathers were probably eagle-down, or string
791 entwined with down. José never saw what the weather shaman had in his basket, because he was told that to do so would cause him to sicken and die. What José knew about the contents of the basket was what a friend of his had told him. José's grandmother, with whom he lived until her death when he was twelve years of age, also explained to him about weather shamanism and what was taking place when the young Kernville man made hail and rain fall at the Porterville fiesta attended by José.

796 José also attended a rattlesnake ceremony held at another
825 time at Porterville, although he was too young to understand fully all of the details and the implications of what he saw. He asked his grandmother about these things, and she explained them to him.

When the doctors went out to catch their rattlesnakes, Jose's grandmother told him not to go, but with a little boy's curi-

538 is betrayed, but to her pregnancy as a consequence of the betrayal. The "confession feast," the ritualistic recounting of an exotic experience, climaxes the Orpheus tales (abstracts 139-153).

[606] The rôle of parents-in-law as mediators in domestic quarrels is indicated in the Pleiades tales (tales 15, 33).

[525 526] The great gambling game, particularly for spectacular rivalry, was shinny. Of secondary importance, arrow shooting, lance throwing, racing, and the hand-game are mentioned as forms of contests.

[171] Hunting adventures and exploits, which are frequent in stories from the Basin, are ignored, as are almost all mundane occupations. The eating of clover and wild onions (tales 14, 15, 33, [262] 36; abstract 57), and seed gathering (p. 1; abstract 114) are spoken of, but rarely.

[576] Custom required one to call out when approaching a house. To draw near unannounced would arouse suspicion (mentioned in an abstracted text).

538 The sacred quality of tobacco is brought out 778 by Falcon's exclusive use of it as food and occasional references to its usage for accomplishing some superhuman task (tales 31, 34, 39; abstract 92). The common sacred talisman, a strand of eagle down, is mentioned (tales 33, 34, 53). [276] [533] Contact with one's supernatural power or guardian spirit through song is indicated in a few tales (tales 26, 43, 46).

538 It is not rewarding to recount further the incidents of culture in the stories: this résumé indicates the general nature of the cultural features exhibited.

Formalized structure of the tales is not always followed. The most common opening of a Yokuts story is with a statement: "People were living there" (ṭaw xo·xo·hin mani· yokoṭs) or "So-and-so was there" or "So-and-so was going along." Western Mono myths more often refer to [171] the time rather than the place, saying, "In olden times" or "Long ago" (manati· co·in) before taking up the action.

Closing phrases are not necessary. A few of Newman's texts end with "That is the end" or my own, taken in English, with "And that's all." But there is no indication of the "tying up" of a story reported for some people or a "call for an early spring." [784] The taboo on summer storytelling was known but thought of as unimportant, or as a logical consequence of habits rather than as a taboo at all. All of Newman's texts were recorded in the summer. My Michahai informant said that people naturally told stories in the winter evenings, in the summer young people stayed outside and played. According to the same [574] informant, any visitor in a house might tell stories or adventures. Boys and girls would ask for them if they dared, or hoped that conversation would evoke such recountings. Adolescent [583] Michahai would go to a well-known storyteller's